

JOURNAL OF UKRAINIAN STUDIES

Summer 2005

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A Conversation Among Five Travellers Concerning Life's True Happiness*

Hryhorii Skovoroda

ATHANASIUS: In their lives people labour, scurry about, and pile up treasures, but to what end many of them do not themselves know. Upon reflection, all the thousands of varied human enterprises are seen to have but a single end—the *heart's* joy. To this end we choose friends according to our inclination in order that we may take pleasure in sharing our thoughts with them; we achieve high rank in order that our self-esteem may be gratified by the respect of others; we devise various kinds of drink, food, and snacks to please our taste; we seek out different kinds of music, composing a multitude of concertos, minuets, dances, and contredances to delight our ears; we build fine houses, plant gardens and orchards, and weave gold brocades and fabrics, embroidering them with pleasingly coloured silken threads, and deck ourselves out in such garments to give pleasure to the eye and provide softness to the

* This translation of "Razgovor piati putnikov o istinnom shchastii v zhizni" is based on Skovoroda's *Povne zibrannia tvoriv u dvokh tomakh* (Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 1973), 1: 324–56. Page references to this edition are given in square brackets. An abbreviated version of this dialogue, translated by George L. Kline, appeared in *Russian Philosophy*, ed. James M. Edie, James P. Scanlan, and Mary-Barbara Zeldin with the collaboration of George L. Kline (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1965; reprinted Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1976, 1984), 1: 26–57. That translation was completed by Taras D. Zakydalsky. We would like to thank the University of Tennessee Press for permitting us to use the earlier translation.

Skovoroda's biblical quotations have been checked against the King James version of the Bible. All footnotes are the translators'.

body; we concoct fragrant spirits, powders, creams, and perfumes to gratify our sense of smell. In a word, we try to cheer up our spirit with every means we can devise. Oh, how great is the gaiety of the high-born and prosperous in this world! In their houses the spirit lives, dissolved in joy and satisfaction. Oh, how precious you are, joy of the heart!

Tsars, princes, and people of wealth pay uncounted thousands for you, while we who are poor and not prosperous nourish ourselves, as it were, from the crumbs that fall from their tables. Just think of the triumphant splendour of the renowned cities of Europe.

JAMES: It is truly great. I have heard that nowhere are there more diversions and delights than in Paris and Venice.

ATHANASIUS: True, there are many over there, but until you bring them to us from Venice we shall perish here of boredom.

GREGORY: Stop talking nonsense, dear friends. High rank, a pleasant setting, various games and diversions, and all your many enterprises are powerless to bring joy to the spirit or to drive away the boredom that has taken possession of you.

JAMES: What then can do it?

GREGORY: Only one thing, and that is to discover in what true happiness consists and then to acquire it.

ATHANASIUS: That is true. We are born for true happiness, and we travel toward it; our life is a road that flows like a river.

JAMES: I have long sought happiness, but nowhere have I been able to find it. [325]

GREGORY: If you truly wish to find it, unravel this question for me: What is best for man?

JAMES: Heaven knows, but why do you ask us about something that the great sages were not able to see and on which their views diverged like travellers on different roads? For what is best is highest, and what is highest is the head and crown of all. The ancient philosophers called this the chief good, the final end, and the supreme good. But who can unravel for you what is the limit and haven of all our desires?

GREGORY: Softly, my dear sir! You have risen very high. Let me put it to you more simply: What do you desire most of all in life?

JAMES: It is as though you had stirred up an anthill with your staff—so greatly has your question agitated our desires.

ATHANASIUS: I should like to be a man of high rank and have underlings who are as sturdy as Russians and as virtuous as ancient Romans; I should like a house such as those in Venice and a garden such as those in Florence; I should like to be intelligent, learned, noble, and as rich as a bull in furs.

GREGORY: What nonsense are you speaking?

ATHANASIUS: Stalwart as a lion, comely as Venus—

JAMES: I recall a she-dog named Venus.

GREGORY: My dear sir, please continue.

JAMES: With a tail like a lion, a head like a bear, ears like a donkey....

GREGORY: It is doubtful that such foolish wishes could reach the ears of God. You, with your enterprises, are like the tree that desires at one and the same time to be an oak, a maple, a linden, a birch, a fig tree, an olive tree, a plane tree, a date tree, a rosebush, and a rue—both sun and moon, both tail and head. The babe in arms often reaches for a sharp knife or a flame, but *Nature*, our most merciful mother, knows better than we do what is good for us. Although we weep and struggle, she feeds us all, as is seemly, at her own breasts and clothes us. The good child is satisfied with this, but the bad seed stirs up both itself and others. How many millions of these unhappy children complain day and night, content with nothing? If you place one thing in their hands, they cry for something else. We cannot fail to be unhappy.

ATHANASIUS: Why is that?

GREGORY: Because we cannot find happiness.

JAMES: For what reason?

GREGORY: Because we do not desire it and cannot desire it. [326]

ATHANASIUS: But why?

GREGORY: Because we do not understand in what it consists. The chief thing is to discover the source of desire. Desire leads to seeking something and then getting it. This is well-being, that is, the getting of what is good for you.¹ Now you should understand what *wisdom* means.

1. There is an untranslatable play on the words “poluchenie” (‘receiving’ or ‘getting’) and “blagopoluchenie” (‘well-being’ or ‘welfare’).

JAMES: I often hear the word "wisdom."

GREGORY: It is the task of wisdom to understand what happiness consists in—this is the right wing,² and virtue labours to find it. For this reason, the Greeks and Romans called it "manliness" and "strength" (*arete*, *virtus*)—that is the left wing. Without these two wings you can never rise and fly to well-being. Wisdom is like the sharp and far-seeing eye of the eagle, and virtue is like manly arms joined to the nimble legs of a deer. This divine union is vividly depicted in the following fable.

JAMES: You have taken it out of my mouth. For surely you mean the story of the two travellers—one legless, the other blind.

GREGORY: Indeed, you have grasped my very thought.

ATHANASIUS: Will you set it forth more fully?

GREGORY: A traveller, in passing through many countries and kingdoms, lost his legs. He then thought of returning to his father's house. Supporting himself with his arms and hands, he made his way back, but with enormous labour. Finally, when he had crawled to the top of a mountain from which he could see his father's house, he lost his arms and hands as well. From that spot his sharp eyes gazed with merry desire across the rivers, forests, and cliffs, across the summits of the pyramid-like mountains, at the castle, gleaming from afar, that was the house of his father and of his whole peace-loving family—the end and crown of all his traveller's labours. But the misfortune was that our Seer, having neither arms nor legs, merely tormented himself, like the rich man in the Gospel story as he looked upon Lazarus.

However, glancing back, he unexpectedly glimpsed a strange and pitiful sight. A blind man was stumbling as though he were drunk along the road, listening intently, probing with his cane now to the right, now to the left and straying off the road. As he came closer he sighed: "Our days are spent in vanity.... Oh Lord, tell me of Your paths.... Alas, of my wanderings there is no end!" And he spoke other words of this kind to himself, sighing as he repeatedly stumbled and fell.

2. Probably a reference to the Owl of Minerva, traditional symbol of wisdom, frequently alluded to by Skovoroda in other works.

"My friend, I fear that I may frighten you, but who are you?" asked the man of clear vision.

"This is the thirty-fourth year of my journey, and you are the first to cross my path," answered the man whose eyes were darkened. "My journeying in many parts of the world has turned into exile. The extraordinary heat of the Arabian sun deprived me of my sight, and I am returning blind to my father." [327]

"And who is your father?"

"He lives in the mountain castle which is called *Mirgorod*.³ His name is Uranus and mine is Doer."

"Good heavens, you don't say! I am your brother," cried the sighted man. "My name is Seer." Extraordinary happiness always finds expression in tears. After copious shedding of tears, the blind man, his eyes still damp, spoke to his brother as follows:

"Dearest brother! I have heard about you, and now I see you with the eyes of my heart. Take pity on me, put an end to my sorrows, be my teacher. In truth, labour gladdens me. But this constant stumbling drains away all my strength."

"I am sorry," said the man of radiant eye, "that I cannot serve you, my beloved brother. As a traveller I have traversed the whole circuit of the earth on my own two legs. They carried me everywhere without mishap, but the craggy mountains that I encountered on my path took them from me, so that I had to continue my journey on my arms and hands. At this place I have lost them as well. Now I can neither walk nor crawl upon the earth. Many people have wished to employ me, but since I am unable even to crawl, I could be of no use to them."

"That is not the end of the matter," said the blind man, "you are a light and precious burden to me: I shall carry you, my treasure, on my back. Let your clear eyes be the eternal masters of my body and a head to all my members. Put an end to the torment of this primordial darkness that hounds me inhumanly along the empty path of the body's distractions. I am your steed; mount upon my shoulders and guide me, dearest brother and master."

"I shall mount up willingly, my brother, in order to show the truth of the word of God written by the author of *Proverbs*: 'Brother

3. *Mirgorod* means 'city of peace.'

helped by brother is like a firm and tall city, strong like a well-founded kingdom.’⁴ Now, look at God’s wondrous work: two men are made one. One traveller is created from two kindred souls, without any fusion of the two, but also without division into each other’s servants. This unprecedented traveller follows the central path, turning neither to the right nor to the left, readily crossing rivers, forests, crevasses, and cliffs, passing over sheer mountains, and climbing with joy to the height of the peaceful city. There he is surrounded by radiant and fragrant air; an orderly crowd of inhabitants, breathing peace and love and clapping their hands, await him at the gate; and within the gates Uranus himself, ancient of days, receives him into His holy embrace.”

JAMES: What then shall I say to you?

GREGORY: Declare your chief desire.

JAMES: Our sovereign desire is to be happy. [328]

GREGORY: Where have you seen a bird or beast without such an aim?

Tell me where and in what is the happiness you seek? Until you can say that, my dear friend, you are like the blind man: he seeks his father’s castle but he cannot see where it lies. He seeks happiness but, not understanding where it is, he falls into unhappiness. Most merciful Nature has opened the path to happiness to all souls without exception....

ATHANASIUS: Stay! I think these words smell of heresy—“all souls without exception”!

JAMES: Please, do not interrupt, Mr. Orthodox Superstitious; each and every one is born into the world for a good end. And a good end means happiness. How can one say that Nature, our universal Mother, has not opened the path to happiness for every creature that breathes?

ATHANASIUS: Nature too smells of idolatry: it were better to say that God has opened the path—not your heathen Nature.

JAMES: All hail the doltish theologian! If I, in calling God Nature, am a heathen, you have long since been an idolater.

ATHANASIUS: How is that?

4. Cf. *Pro.* 18:19: “A brother offended is harder to be won than a strong city: and their contentions are like the bars of a castle.”

JAMES: Because this name (God) is a heathen name.

ATHANASIUS: That may be so, but Christians have by now made it their own.

JAMES: But why do you fear to call God Nature, since the early Christians adopted the heathen name (God)?

ATHANASIUS: You have certainly learned how to chatter.

JAMES: Is it possible that you have never heard that the Supreme Being has no proper name of His own?

ATHANASIUS: No name? But did He not have a name among the Jews? It was Jehovah; do you understand what it means?

JAMES: I do not.

ATHANASIUS: Well, here is the problem, you don't understand.

JAMES: I know only that in *Isaiah* it is written in many places: "I am, I am, I am he who is."⁵ Sir theologian, leave the glossing of words to the Hebrew glossators, and yourself lay hold on what is meant by the name I am. There is no great need to know the *origin* of this word: does bread come from grain or from our efforts.⁶ The point is to know what it *means*. This is the source of temporal life—if one could only grasp it.

ERMOLAI: May God help us! What are you quarreling about? I have been listening for a long time.

ATHANASIUS: Greetings, dear friend!

JAMES: Would you be the judge of our quarrel?

ERMOLAI: Gladly, but what is it about?

JAMES: They consider it idolatry to call God Nature. [329]

ERMOLAI: In the Bible God is called fire, water, wind, iron, stone, and countless other names. Why then should He not be called Nature? In my own opinion it would be impossible to find a more important and more seemly name for God than this one. *Natura* is a Latin word; in our

5. Cf. *Is.* 41:4, 43:10, 43:13, 46:4, 48:12, 52:6: "I am he." God defines Himself as "I am that I am" and "I am" in *Ex.* 3:14. In the Elizabethan version of the Church Slavonic Bible, which was available to Skovoroda, in *Ex.* 3:14 God calls Himself "Az esm syi" (I am he who is) and in *Is.* 41:4, 43:10, and 46:4, He calls Himself "Az esm" (I am). Skovoroda often combines quotations from different sources.

6. "Khleb—ot khleba ili ot khlopot."

language it is *priroda* or *estestvo*. This word refers to everything that is born within the machine of this world, while what is unborn, like fire, as well as what in general is born is called the world. For that reason....

ATHANASIUS: Hold on. All material things were or are born, including your noble fire.

ERMOLAI: I shall not dispute it, dear friend. Let us admit that all material things were born. But why not call Him in whom the whole world with its births is concealed like a beautiful, flowering tree within the seed from which it develops, by the name that encompasses all creation, that is, Nature? Moreover, the word "nature" means not only every being that is born and changes, but also the secret economy of that ever present force which has its centre or chief mid-point everywhere and its circumference nowhere, like the sphere by which that force is graphically represented: is this not like God? It is called Nature because everything that happens on its outer surface or is born out of its secret unbounded depths, as from the womb of our universal Mother, has a beginning in time. And since this Mother to give birth does not receive [seed] from anyone, but gives birth of Herself, She is called both Father and beginning⁷ that has neither beginning nor end and is dependent upon neither time nor place. Painters represent it by a circlet or ring, or else by a coiled serpent holding its tail between its teeth.

The action of this all-present, all-powerful and all-wise Force is called the secret law, governance, or realm that is diffused endlessly and timelessly throughout all matter; that is, one cannot ask when it began, for it always was; nor how long it will last, for it will always be; nor to what point it extends, for it is everywhere at all times. "Wherefore is it that thou dost ask after my name,"⁸ God says to Moses, "if through the darkness of matter thou canst glimpse what everywhere was, is, and will be—that is my name and my nature?" The name is in the nature and the nature is in the name; the one does not differ from the other. Both are the same; both are eternal. "He who sees me through the darkness with the eye of faith knows my name. But he who seeks to know my name knows neither me nor my

7. "Nachalo" can mean both 'beginning' and 'principle.'

8. Gen. 32:29. God asks Jacob, not Moses, this question. The rest of the quotation is not in the Bible.

name, for both are the same. My name and I are one.” “I am he who is. I am that I am.”⁹ If one knows God, then whatever name one’s worshipful heart gives Him is true and good. It does not matter that one person knows [bread as] *artos* and another as *panis* as long as they do not [330] differ in understanding. Moses and Isaiah call Him *I am*. Following them Paul said: “the same yesterday and to day and for ever.”¹⁰ And the theologian gives Him another name: “God is love.”¹¹ What he calls love is the same simple unity everywhere, always, and in everything. Love and unity are the same. The unity of parts is alien to Him, hence, disintegration is not necessary and destruction is completely ruled out. Jeremiah calls Him a sword, while Paul calls Him the living word, but they mean the same thing. This sword cuts down everything perishable and all things become dilapidated, like garments, while the words of His law and kingdom do not pass away.

GREGORY: How long will you go on quarreling? Let us return to our discussion.

ERMOLAI: What was the discussion about?

JAMES: About what happiness consists in.

GREGORY: Nature, our most merciful Mother and the Father of all our pleasures, has opened the path to happiness to all creatures that breathe without exception.

JAMES: Are you content with this conclusion?

ATHANASIUS: Now I am.

GREGORY: But the trouble is that we do not try to find out precisely where happiness lies. We grab and clutch what merely presents an attractive appearance as though it were a firm foundation. Lack of counsel is the source of our unhappiness. It makes us prisoners, representing the bitter as sweet and the sweet as bitter. That would not happen if we took counsel with ourselves. Let us judge, my friends, and mend our ways; it is never too late to begin a good work. Let us seek that in which our strength lies. Let us take thought which prayer is sweetest to God. Tell me what you consider best. If

9. See n. 5.

10. *Heb.* 13:8.

11. *I Jn.* 4:8.

you find it, then you will also find happiness and at the same time will be able to acquire it.

ERMOLAI: What seems best to me is to be content with all things.

GREGORY: Make your meaning clearer!

ERMOLAI: To be content with one's money, land, health, the people around one, and everything else in the world.

JAMES: Why are you laughing?

ATHANASIUS: I am glad that my foolishness has found a companion. He also desires to be as humped as a camel, as big-bellied as a whale, as long-nosed as a crocodile, as graceful as a greyhound, as appetizing as a boar, etc.

GREGORY: You have the lips but not the heart of a theologian. You speak well of God but desire what is absurd. Be not angry, dear friend, at my frankness. Picture to yourself the countless number of those who will never know plenty: the sick and the old, and call to mind those who are born with crippled bodies. Surely you do not think that [331] Nature, our most merciful and solicitous Mother, has behaved like a stepmother and has slammed the door to happiness in their faces. I beg you, do not confine God's all-wise providence within narrow limits; do not slander Nature's omnipotent mercy. Nature is good to every creature that breathes, not just to a chosen few members of the human race. In her sedulous providence She has prepared all those things without which the happiness of the lowliest worm cannot be accomplished, and if anything is lacking then, of course, it is superfluous. The mole has no eyes but what does that matter? Birds know nothing of shipbuilding, but they have no need of such knowledge. Whoever needs it knows it. The lily knows nothing of manufacture; it is beautiful without it. Leave off, dear friend, this petition that slanders our own Mother.

ERMOLAI: I do not slander and I make no petition.

GREGORY: You slander Her mercy.

ERMOLAI: God forbid! I do not slander God.

GREGORY: What do you mean, not slander? How many thousands of people are without that which you desire?

ERMOLAI: Countless thousands, but what of that?

GREGORY: Strange man! Then, according to your definition, God is not merciful?

ERMOLAI: How so?

GREGORY: Because He has closed off from them the path to that which you desire, that is, the certain happiness of the creatures.

ERMOLAI: What point have we reached in our discussion?

GREGORY: The point where either you and your desire are stupid or the Lord is not merciful.

ERMOLAI: God forbid that I should say such a thing.

GREGORY: Why are you so sure that attaining the object of your desire will make you happy? Consider how many thousands of people have been ruined by attaining what they desired. To what vices does health with abundance lead? Whole republics have fallen because of it. How then can you desire abundance as though it were happiness? Happiness does not make people unhappy. Do you not see now how many people have been swallowed up by abundance as by a universal flood, while their souls are grinding themselves to pieces through immoderate undertakings, like millstones that turn without grain? God's mercy, certainly, would have showered you with abundance had you needed it. Now, cast away this desire from your soul. It stinks like our worldly native *kvas*.¹²

ERMOLAI: Do you call my desire *kvas*?

GREGORY: Yes, and a vile *kvas*, worldly and filled with restless worms that mortify the soul day and night. For, as Solomon says: "Counsel in the heart of man is like deep and clear water,"¹³ so I say that the desire in your heart is like vile and worldly *kvas*. "Thou hast put gladness in my heart,"¹⁴ [332] so David sang—and I say: you have taken this disturbance into your heart.

ERMOLAI: Why is desire worldly?

GREGORY: Because it is common.

ERMOLAI: And why is it common?

12. A drink based on fermented bread.

13. Cf. *Prov.* 20:5: "Counsel in the heart of man is like deep water."

14. *Ps.* 4:7.

GREGORY: Because it stinks and because it is everywhere. Where will you find me a soul not filled with this *kvas*? Who does not desire honours, silver, and lands? Here is the source of murmuring, complaints, sorrows, hostilities, litigation, robberies, and thefts—of all machinations, hooks and crooks, and cunning devices. From this spring flow treason, revolt, usurpation, the fall of states, and a whole sea of troubles. “Lord,” says Saint Peter in the *Acts*, “nothing unclean will enter my mouth.”¹⁵ In our language the word is “unclean,” but in Greek it is “*koinon*,” that is, ‘common.’ Common, worldly, and unclean all mean the same thing. The opinion of the world is not clean water in a man’s heart, but a swamp—*koinon*, *coenum*—a dwelling-place for swine and evil spirits. Who has stamped this crooked path to happiness so deeply in their hearts? Surely, it was the Father of Darkness.

Receiving this secret glory of the dark kingdom from one another, people, led by a spirit infected with worldly appetites, wander from the glory of the Light Divine, which leads to true happiness. They have not entered into the heart of the sweetest truth, and their sinful wandering, in the words of Jeremiah, is written on a diamond fingernail, on the very horns of their altars.¹⁶ Whatever they say or do follows from this, so that this primordial script cannot be erased, or cut away, or torn up, unless a man tries with all his heart together with God, as it is said in Paul: “For we wrestle not....”¹⁷

Gird your true loins, oh man, and arm yourself against your own wicked opinion. Why do you esteem the ways of the world? For you know that truth always resided and resides in the few men enlightened by God, while the world cannot accept it. Bring before you all the best painters and architects, and you will discover that artistic truth does not dwell in many places and that the largest crowd of artists is imbued with ignorance and lack of taste.

ERMOLAI: Then tell us in what does true happiness consist?

15. Cf. *Acts* 11:8: “Not so, Lord: for nothing common or unclean hath at any time entered into my mouth.”

16. *Jer.* 17:1 says: “with the point of a diamond: it is graven upon the table of their heart, and upon the horns of your altars.”

17. The point becomes clearer if we expand the quotation: “For we wrestle not against flesh and blood” (*Eph.* 6:12).

GREGORY: First, discover where it does not lie, so that having explored the empty nooks, you will more readily come to the place where it resides.

JAMES: But looking in dark corners without a candle—how is he to search for it?

GREGORY: Here is your candle: our most merciful Father [333] has opened the path to happiness to all people. With this touchstone test the purity of gold and silver.

ATHANASIUS: But what if one is unskilled in such testing?

GREGORY: Here is how to do it! Can all people be painters or architects?

ATHANASIUS: Of course not. That would be absurd.

GREGORY: Hence, happiness does not lie in those callings. You can see that this path is not open to everyone.

ATHANASIUS: This is impossible, just as the whole body cannot be an eye.

GREGORY: Can all people be prosperous or of high station, strong or comely? Can everyone live in France? Can all people be born in the same period? By no means! Thus it is plain that true happiness lies neither in high rank nor bodily gifts, neither in a beautiful country nor a glorious age, neither in lofty sciences nor the abundance of wealth.

ATHANASIUS: But is it impossible to be happy if one has high rank and lives in a pleasant land?

GREGORY: You have jumped to the other side of the question, like the Pole who jumped over his mare.

ATHANASIUS: How is that?

GREGORY: He was unable to mount without assistance, and when he tried for the twelfth time, he slid over to the other side. "The devil take you! You've overdone it," he said angrily.¹⁸

ATHANASIUS: I'm not asking about him; I'm asking about myself.

GREGORY: Not long ago you said that high rank and abundance constituted happiness, and now you exclude it from them altogether. I do

18. The story goes that he invoked the saints to help him, adding another saint to his list after every attempt. After landing on the other side of his horse, he chided the saints, "Don't push all together."

not say that the happy man cannot enjoy high station, or live in a pleasant land, or have things in abundance; I say only that it is not because of his rank, homeland, or wealth that he is happy. The aroma of a rich feast in a fine house is not caused by its ornamented corners. Fine pastries are often served in unornamented dwellings. The splendour of a house—as the saying goes—comes from its fine pastries, and not from its fine corners.¹⁹ Can you assert that all the inhabitants of France are calm and merry?

ATHANASIUS: Who would endorse such a claim?

GREGORY: But if one's homeland were the substance and essence of happiness, none of one's countrymen could fail to be happy. In every rank there are happy and unhappy people. God did not limit happiness to the days of Abraham, to the ancestors of Solomon, or to the reign of King David, to the sciences or to social ranks, to natural gifts or to wealth. For this reason He did not open the path to it to everyone and is just in all his acts.²⁰

ATHANASIUS: Where then is happiness to be sought, if it is neither here nor there, nor anywhere else? [334]

GREGORY: Listen to a fable I learned when I was still a boy. An old man and his wife built themselves a hut but left no window in it. The hut was not very cheerful. What should they do? After long deliberation the "family senate" decided that they should go to fetch some light. They got an animal skin and spread it out in the midday sun to collect sunlight as though it were flour and bring it into the hut.

They did this several times and then looked to see if there was light in the hut. But they saw nothing. The old woman decided that the light must be leaking out like wine from a wineskin; therefore, they should run faster with it. Running back and forth the two "senators" collided at the door so that the foot of one hit the head of the other. A noisy quarrel arose. "You have certainly lost your mind," said the old woman. "And you were born without one," retorted the old man.

They were about to set out to distant mountains and valleys to fetch light when a strange monk stopped them. Though only fifty years old, he was very clever at providing light. "Because you offered me bread

19. The Russian proverb rhymes: "Ne krasen dom uglami, krasen pirogami."

20. Skovoroda should have said "He opened," rather than "He did not open."

and salt²¹,” he said, “I must not keep this useful secret from you.” Following his advice, the old man took a hatchet and began to hack through the wall of the hut, uttering such words as these: “Festive light, living light, ubiquitous light, everlasting light, impartial light—visit this dwelling, bring it light and enlightenment.” Suddenly the wall broke open; pleasant light flooded the dwelling. And from that time to this, people have built lighted chambers in that land.

ATHANASIUS: There is no one in the world so foolish as your old man and woman.

GREGORY: He is mine and yours, and belongs to all people.

ATHANASIUS: Impossible! What is his name?

GREGORY: Ish.²²

ATHANASIUS: Ish—the devil take him.

GREGORY: You flee him but he is always with you.

ATHANASIUS: In what sense?

GREGORY: If you don’t want to be with him, you will be him.

ATHANASIUS: I have had enough of your old man.

GREGORY: What does the name matter if your deeds identify you as Ish?

ATHANASIUS: Away with him, I say!

ERMOLAI: And what is the old woman’s name?

GREGORY: Mut.²³

JAMES: Mut will not be separated from Ish;²⁴ they are an inseparable pair.

GREGORY: But aren’t all of us relatives of Ish? We seek happiness²⁵ in our social stations, our epoch, our country, while it is always and everywhere with us. We are in it like fish in water; surrounding us, it seeks us out. It is nowhere because it is everywhere. It is like the radiance of the sun: all you have to do is open a passage for it into your soul. It is always knocking against your wall, seeking an entrance and not finding it. And your heart is dark and joyless [335],

21. Traditional Slavic symbols of welcome and hospitality.

22. The name suggests searching or quest.

23. The name suggests trouble or disturbance.

24. The original text rhymes: “Mut ot Isha ne razluchitsia.”

25. There is a play on the words “Ish” and “ishchem” (we seek).

like the brink of an abyss. Tell me, is it not foolishness and madness to worry about a valuable garland? To what end? As though a man in a simple cap could not enjoy the blessed and universal light to which this prayer flows upward: "Hear me o Thou holy One, Who hast an eternal and seeing eye." The foolish husband with his malicious wife leaves his home, seeks happiness outside himself, moves from one calling to another, acquires a brilliant name, drapes himself in bright garments, draws to himself a swinish rabble of gold coins and silver vessels, finds friends and foolish comrades in order to bring a ray of blessed radiance and radiant blessedness into his soul. Is there light? They look—there is nothing. Now look at the heaving ocean, at the crowd of people, called world or cosmos, which in every age, country, and station has been filled with disorder and rebellion. What things does it refrain from doing? It makes war, carries on lawsuits, schemes, worries, initiates, builds, destroys, whirls, casts a shadow. Does it not seem to you that Ish and Mut are running into their hut? Is there light? They look—there is nothing.

JAMES: Blessed Ish and happy Mut! At the end of their days their prayer was answered and the all-seeing, unsleeping great eye of the whole world, the sun, lighted up their dwelling, while others suffered eternal torment, rebellion, and vacillations.

LONGINUS: God give you joy!

GREGORY: Oh, my dear friend! What spirit taught you this greeting? We thank you for your felicitations.

JAMES: The ancient Christians always used this greeting.

ERMOLAI: That is not surprising. This way of greeting is characteristic of Christ our Lord. It springs from the peace of God. In the world, Christ brought us the good news and a peace that surpasses all understanding.²⁶ He deigns to grant us peace. "Peace be to this house,"²⁷ peace be with you.²⁸ He teaches peace: "A new commandment I give unto you...."²⁹ Upon departing, He leaves them peace: "My peace I give unto you, keep it! Be not afraid! Rejoice!"³⁰

26. A reference to "the peace of God, which passeth all understanding" (*Phil.* 4:7).

27. *Luke* 10:5.

28. Cf. *Luke* 24:36: "Peace be unto you."

29. *Jn.* 13:34.

30. Cf. *Jn.* 14:27: "Peace I leave with you, my peace I give unto you.... Let not your

ATHANASIUS: Do you know what we were discussing?

LONGINUS: I have heard everything down to the last detail.

ATHANASIUS: He must have been sitting beneath that apple tree. Am I right?

LONGINUS: You could not see me because of the branches.

GREGORY: Tell us, my dear Longinus, is there any more miserable creature than a man who has not discovered what is best and most desirable for him?

LONGINUS: I myself have often been astonished at our excessive curiosity, assiduity, and penetration with respect to peripheral things: we have measured the sea, the earth, the air, and the heavens, and have disturbed the belly of the earth to draw out metals. We have traced the paths of the planets; we have found mountains, rivers, and cities on the moon; we have discovered a countless multitude of unfinished worlds. We build incomprehensible machines, fill great abysses, block off and redirect [336] the flow of waters; every day we produce new experiments and wild inventions.

Good heavens, what is there that we cannot do! But the sad thing is that, in all this, greatness is lacking. Something is missing that we cannot even name; we know something is missing, but we do not know what it is. We are like an infant that cannot yet talk: it only cries and feels only frustration without being able to know or to say what it needs. Does not our soul's evident dissatisfaction suggest that all of our sciences cannot satiate our minds? You see the sciences filling the soul's abyss. We have devoured a countless multitude of spinning systems with planets like clockworks on English bell towers, planets with mountains, oceans, and cities—yet we remain ravenous. Our thirst is not slaked; rather it increases.

The more copiously we dine on mathematics, medicine, physics, mechanics, music, and their ungovernable sisters, the more our heart burns with hunger and thirst. In our coarse stupefaction we fail to realize that all of them are only handmaidens serving a mistress, tails to a head, without which the entire body is ineffective. What is hungrier, more restless and dangerous than a human heart that is attended by these ungoverned slaves? Is there anything it will not dare to undertake? The insatiable spirit drives the people; it furthers

and follows its inclination, like a ship without a pilot or a carriage without a driver, without counsel, foresight, or enjoyment. Like ravening dogs, which growl as they gulp down deadly dust and ashes, alienated and erring from the moment we leave the womb, avoiding the essential truth, which rings out over the spiritual abyss in us: "I am, I am he who is!" Since people have not yet taken account of their most essential need, or of the limit, line, and boundary of all their desires and intentions, so as to direct all their works to this most central and certain point, they have neglected the Mistress of all the ancillary spirits and sciences that from earth return to earth and bypass the door of Her mercy, a door that opens a way out and leads our thoughts away from the base villainy of the shadows towards the radiant and essential truth of an unfading happiness.

And now give thought, dear friends, and tell me what is man's most essential need. What is best for you and most desirable in itself? What can make you happy? Think of this now, in good time; leave the ranks of those lost travellers who do not know where they are going or why! Our life is a path³¹ and the way to happiness is not short.

ATHANASIUS: I should have expressed my desire long since, but I cannot think what it is that is best in the world for me. [337]

LONGINUS: Ah, man! You should be ashamed to say such a thing! If the sunset is red, we prophesy that the following day will dawn fair; but if the eastern sky is red, we say—and it happens thus—that there will be frost and bad weather that day.³² Tell me, please, if a resident of one of the cities of the moon were to visit our earthly globe, would he not be astonished at our wisdom, seeing that we are so skilled in interpreting heavenly signs? But at the same time would not our moon-man be beside himself to discover that we are blind and stupid in dealing with the economy of our own tiny world as with [the workings of] an English watch? Like perfect drones we neither notice nor care about the most astonishing of all systems—the system of our own small body. Tell me, please, would our guest not be justified in comparing us to the foolish mathematician who fully understands a circle millions of miles in circumference but can feel neither the

31. Cf. *Ps.* 16:11.

32. Cf. the English saying: "Red sky at night, sailor's delight; red sky in the morning, sailors take warning."

power nor the beauty of a small golden ring? Would he not be right to give us the title of brainless scribe for being able to read and understand words and letters that are fifteen arshins³³ high, but being completely baffled by alpha or omega written on a scrap of paper or on a fingernail. Certainly, he would call us after that witch who knows what food is cooking in other people's pots but is blind, careless, and hungry in her own house. And such a wise man belongs almost among those women who do not take care of their homes and whom the great Paul calls wandering busybodies.³⁴ I do not condemn the sciences and praise the most humble trade. The only thing that should be condemned is that by relying on them we neglect the supreme science to which every period, country, rank, sex, and age has open access, [the doctrine] that happiness is necessary to everyone without exception. This cannot be said of any other science. In this way the supreme parliament, which eternally governs the ages and systems, has proved sufficiently that it is always righteous and that its judgments are always just.

JAMES: Of course, a man punishes his wife not for visiting someone and drinking beer—there is nothing wrong with that—but for staying out all night.

LONGINUS: We had not yet heard the term “mathematics” when our ancestors a long time ago had already built temples constituting Christ's school. In it the whole human race learns what is its congenial happiness and this is the catholic, that is, universal science. Pagan temples or shrines are also temples of Christ's teaching and school. Inside and outside their walls was written this most wise and blessed phrase: “gnōthi seauton, nosce te ipsum”—“know thyself.” Undeniably, we have the same idea; for example, “Only take thyself, and keep thy soul”³⁵ (Moses); “The kingdom of God is within you”³⁶ (Christ); “Ye are the temple of the living God”³⁷ (Paul); “If thou be wise, [338] thou shalt be wise for thyself”³⁸ (Solomon); “If

33. 1 arshin = 28 inches.

34. *1 Tim.* 5:13.

35. *Deut.* 4:9.

36. *Luke* 17:21.

37. *2 Cor.* 6:16.

38. *Prov.* 9:12.

you do not understand yourself”³⁹ (Solomon); “Thy law is within my belly”⁴⁰ (David); “He that believeth not shall be damned”⁴¹ (Christ).

But, because of the hypocrisy of unskilled prophets, that is, priests or teachers, the pagan temples have become by now completely corrupt and an abomination of desolation, while the true and living spring water is stomped into the ground and buried by cattle hoofs. This also happened to the Jews—the truth was often buried among them for long periods because the number of Isaac’s servants who cleaned out Abraham’s wells decreased while the number of Samsons and Philistines who filled with earth the wells of water flowing to eternal life increased.⁴² And these fountains were buried so deeply that (as the Bible shows) the Jews could discover only with great effort the divine law in God’s temple, that is, come to know themselves and find the power of God’s kingdom and His truth within themselves. Now we ourselves have become quite different from our distant Christian ancestors before whose blessed eyes God’s truth, which was lifted from the earth, and the power of the radiant resurrection, which was raised from the grave, shone with their full brilliance. Furthermore, our instructors today are not very skillful. The reason for this is that no one wants to liberate oneself from everyday affairs and to purify one’s heart to be able to penetrate into the inner depth of the sweetest truth, which is concealed in the holy temple of the Bible and is most necessary for the happiness of all nations. We do not hear David’s “free yourself and understand”⁴³ or listen to Christ’s “seek,” for every science, every trade, and anything else is dearer to us than that which alone finds us, lost souls, and restores us to ourselves.

This is to be happy: to discover, to find oneself. You hypocrites (this is addressed to us) have learned to analyze the heavenly person quite well, yet how is it that you fail to notice the signs that would lead you like footprints to the truth that has to make you happy? You have everything, but you do not know how, and do not wish, to find

39. Cf. *Prov.* 20:24: “How can a man then understand his own way?”

40. Cf. *Ps.* 40:8: “Thy law is within my heart.”

41. *Mark* 16:16.

42. A reference to the story in *Gen.* 26.

43. Cf. *Ps.* 35:23: “Stir up thyself, and awake to my judgment.”

yourself. It is truly amazing that an individual who has lived thirty years has failed to notice what is best for him and when the best things happen to him. Evidently, he rarely stays at home and does not care: "Oh, Jerusalem! If you knew what is in your peace but is hidden today from your eyes."⁴⁴

ATHANASIUS: For me, there would seem to be nothing better than to have a heart that is tranquil and at peace. Then everything is pleasant and bearable.

JAMES: I should like to have a fortress in my soul so firm that nothing could shake or overthrow it.

ERMOLAI: As for me, give me living joy and joyful life; I would not exchange such a treasure for anything else. [339]

LONGINUS: Your three desires are essentially one and the same. Can an apple tree be alive and joyful if its root is not healthy? But a healthy root is a firm soul and a heart at peace. A healthy root brings moisture to all the limbs and gives them life. A heart at peace, filled with living moisture, makes its imprint upon the external surface. "And he shall be like a tree planted by the rivers of water."⁴⁵

GREGORY: You could not resist adding a biblical diamond. Take this one too: "Beside the still waters instruct me."⁴⁶

LONGINUS: Here is the summit and flower of all your life: inner peace, the heart's gladness, the soul's strength. Direct all your deeds towards this.

Here is the limit, haven, and end. Cut off anything that is opposed to this haven. Let every word, every action promote this end. Let this be the limit for all your thoughts and desires. How many people are healthy, well fed, well clothed, and at peace in respect to the body, but that is not the peace I am praising—that is a worldly peace,⁴⁷ which is known to all and deceives everyone. Here is peace! In the mind's calmness, the heart's rejoicing, and the soul's quickening. This is peace! This is the inner core of happiness. This peace opens the temple of tranquility for your thoughts, clothes your

44. Cf. *Luke* 19:42: "If thou hadst known, even thou, at least in this thy day, the things which belong unto thy peace! but now they are hid from thine eyes."

45. *Ps.* 1:3.

46. "Beside the still waters" is from *Ps.* 23:2.

47. "*Mir mirskoi*": a play on the homophones "мир" ('peace') and "мip" ('world').

soul in the garments of mirth, and nourishes the heart with wheat flour and strengthens it. "Oh, peace," exclaims Gregory the Theologian, "you are God's and God is yours."

ATHANASIUS: I think Paul speaks about it: "Let the peace of God rule in your hearts."⁴⁸

LONGINUS: Yes.

ATHANASIUS: It is announced by the clean and beautiful feet of the apostles.

LONGINUS: Yes.

ATHANASIUS: Is it left to his disciples by the dying Christ?

LONGINUS: Yes.

ATHANASIUS: And when He left it to them, did He completely separate Himself [from them] on earth?

LONGINUS: Completely.

ATHANASIUS: Can everyone get it?

LONGINUS: Everyone can.

ATHANASIUS: Where can one get it?

LONGINUS: Everywhere.

ATHANASIUS: When?

LONGINUS: Always.

ATHANASIUS: Why doesn't everyone have it?

LONGINUS: Because they don't want it.

ATHANASIUS: If everyone can obtain it, why does Paul call every mind or concept superior?

LONGINUS: Because nobody wants to accept it for consideration and to contemplate it. Without inclination everything is burdensome, [340] even the easiest task. If all of a man's sons were to leave him and, deserting their home, should bury themselves in mathematics, navigation, and physics, one might justly say that the thought of farming did not even cross their minds. However, agriculture is ten times better than such involuted sciences, since it is more needful to all people. Peace is buried like a priceless treasure in the house within ourselves. One may say that

48. *Col.* 3:15.

peace never enters the minds of vagabonds or homeless people who eat out their hearts in empty distractions. But to find peace is much easier than to run around the outskirts collecting useless things. Did you not hear that the sons of this century are wiser than the sons of today?

ATHANASIUS: So what?

LONGINUS: So, although they are stupid, they find what they are looking for.

ATHANASIUS: What follows from this?

LONGINUS: It follows that it is not difficult to attain, if it can be found by good, but nevertheless clumsy and lazy, people.

ATHANASIUS: Why don't young people possess peace, although they are clever?

LONGINUS: Because they cannot even think of it until they have been disappointed.

ATHANASIUS: How is that?

LONGINUS: Who can be drawn away from home more easily than young people? If an entire city raises the false cry "Here is the enemy, the enemy is already at the city gate!" will not a young person rush into the reeds, meadows, or desert? Do you see where the whole problem lies? It is not difficult for a young man to stay quietly at home, but he is driven out of his mind by people who induce anxiety in him.

ATHANASIUS: What are such people called?

LONGINUS: World, society, fashion. At such a time will our suckling babe listen to at least one good man?

ATHANASIUS: Even if he should shout all day that this is a lie, the youngster will not believe him. And what is the good man called?

LONGINUS: He who does not join the council of the profane...

ATHANASIUS: What is his name?

LONGINUS: Christ, Gospel, Bible.⁴⁹ Only he walks without vice: his tongue does not flatter his neighbours but rewards followers and friends with gifts such as "Peace I leave with you, my peace I give unto you: not as the world giveth."⁵⁰

49. Juxtaposed with "Gospel," "Bible" refers only to the Old Testament.

50. *Jn.* 14:27.

JAMES: Does not Sirach's son speak about this peace: "The gladness of the heart is the life of man, and the joyfulness of a man prolongeth his days"?⁵¹

LONGINUS: All the pleasant names in the Bible, such as light, joy, mirth, life, resurrection, path, promise, paradise, and sweetness, refer to this blessed peace. (Hear) what Paul calls it: "The God of peace be with you all"⁵² and again "Christ, He is your peace."⁵³ [341]

JAMES: Does he even call it God?

LONGINUS: Of course. This is the beautiful rainbow that brought peace to Noah's days.

JAMES: You say wonderful things. Why is this wonderful peace called God?

LONGINUS: Because it ends everything while it itself is endless, and an endless end, beginningless beginning, and God are all one.

JAMES: Why is it called light?

LONGINUS: Because it dwells only in enlightened hearts. It always accompanies the unsetting light as though it were its radiance. And when this light is absent, the soul lacks joy, life, mirth, and comfort and is filled with darkness, fear, revolt, sorrow, death, and Gehenna.

JAMES: What you speak is strange, sweet, and dreadful.

LONGINUS: Now, you tell me is there anything better than this? I shall listen to you.

ATHANASIUS: Listen, brother!

LONGINUS: Yes, what?

ATHANASIUS: Is this why the following words of Paul, "God's power is with us,"⁵⁴ refer to this peace?

LONGINUS: I think so.

ATHANASIUS: Then, evidently, Gregory was mistaken; previously, he said that virtue labours to find happiness and he called it in the Greek and Latin "strength" and "manliness." But if strength means peace then

51. *Sir.* 30:22.

52. *Rom.* 15:33

53. Cf. *Eph.* 2:14: "For he is our peace."

54. Cf. *Col.* 1:11: "Strengthened with all might, according to his glorious power."

it itself is happiness. Why should it seek anything and what should it seek? Are not strength and power the same?

LONGINUS: What slyness! If only you were as clever at finding peace as you are quick to ridicule others and point out their mistakes! In this way you have shown that the sons of this wicked age are cleverer than the sons of the divine light. Do you not know that to seek true happiness is already to progress along the divine path, the path of peace which has many levels? To find oneself upon the path of peace, is this not the beginning of true happiness? We do not immediately reach the summit of the most blessed mount called Pisgah where great Moses will die and where it is written "His eyes did not grow dim and his power did not wither."⁵⁵ The everlasting light that penetrates the dark abyss of our thoughts to enable us to see where our lofty and firm peace resides urges our heart to climb the mountain of peace. Why should it not be called peace and strength that includes peace if it indicates where peace lies and urges us to strive for it, being both the beginning and source of all goodness? Anyone who does not strive for peace, evidently, does not understand its priceless value. *To discover it* and fervently *to strive* for it are two rays to the blessed sun of truth like the two wings of the Holy Spirit.

GREGORY: Stop arguing, my friends. We are gathered here not to show off in a contest of wit, but to unite [342] our heart's desires and by collaborating to direct them more effectively, like fragrant incense, to the goal that guides lost wanderers onto the path of peace. Paul himself encourages us to take this path: "Rejoice evermore, pray without ceasing, in every thing give thanks."⁵⁶ He commands us always to nourish inner peace and the heart's joy as though we were adding oil to a burning lamp. And to pray without ceasing means to desire Him with all your soul; seek and you shall find. I know that the blasphemer is always disturbing your soul to make you grumble and feel dissatisfied with anything sent you by God, but drive away this evil tempter and tormentor as you love, seek, and preserve peace and joy. This is the day of the life and health of your souls: you are alive as long as you preserve peace in your hearts. Judge all matters according to mature reason without listening to the whispering devil

55. Cf. *Deut.* 34:7: "his eye was not dim, nor his natural force abated."

56. *1 Thes.* 5:16–18. In the Bible these are three separate verses.

and recognize that God's entire economy throughout the whole universe is perfect, good, and most useful to all of us. Everything in the heavens and on earth without exception happens in His name and by His power. You say with reason: "Hallowed be thy name, Thy will be done...."⁵⁷ And He will deliver you from evil. As soon as you become grateful for everything, the following words will be immediately fulfilled in you: "The gladness of the heart is the life of man."⁵⁸

ATHANASIOS: It seems that a man would always be tranquil if everything happened according to his will.

LONGINUS: God forbid!

ATHANASIOS: Why do you say that?

GREGORY: What if your reason and will were like the old man's cat?

ATHANASIOS: What do you mean?

GREGORY: When the old man lighted a fire in his stove, his stubborn kitten refused to leave it. The old man dragged it out and whipped it soundly.

ATHANASIOS: I would try to make my will conform to that of the most sophisticated men in the world.

GREGORY: From which parliament—in London or in Paris—would you select these men? But you should know, even if you took as your judge that king who condemned Nature, our wisest Mother, for Her arrangement of the heavenly orbits, that God is wiser than our time and your judge. Why look for a better judge? Depend upon Him and make His holy Will your will. If you accept it, it is already yours. The agreement of wills means one soul and one heart. What is better than friendship with the Most High? At such a time everything will be done according to your own will and to the all-wise Will. And this is to be content with all things. Our Ermolai desires this, but he does not understand what it means to be content with all things. You see that Paul's words "In every thing give thanks"⁵⁹ are the source of perfect peace and joy and happiness. What can [343] trouble my heart? Everything is in fact done by God's will; but I assent to it, and

57. *Matt.* 6:9–10, *Luke* 11:2. Skovoroda omits a sentence between the two quoted ones.

58. *Sir.* 30:22.

59. *I Thes.* 5:18.

so it is by my own will. Why should I be troubled? If a thing is impossible, then of course, it is useless; they are one and the same. The more useful a thing is, the more accessible it is. My friends, here is wisdom if we carry out what we say: "Thy will be done...."⁶⁰

ERMOLAI: I recall the wise saying of a certain sage⁶¹: I give thanks to blessed Nature for making what is necessary easy to obtain and what is hard to obtain unnecessary and of little use.

GREGORY: Let us give thanks to our Heavenly Father for having opened our eyes. Now we understand in what our true happiness consists. It lives in the inward peace of our own heart, and peace lives in the harmony with God. The greater the harmony the greater one's blessedness. The health of the body is nothing but the balance and harmony of fire, water, air, and earth; and the quieting of the soul's rebellious thoughts is its health and life eternal. If one has only three zolotniks⁶² of harmony with God then one has just as much peace and if one has fifty or one hundred zolotniks of harmony then that is how much peace there is in one's heart. The light advances as much as the shadow retreats. Blessed are those who day by day mount ever higher upon the mountain of this most radiant *City of Peace*. They will go from strength to strength,⁶³ until the God of gods appears in Zion. This descent and exodus of the Israelites takes place not on foot but in thought. Here is David: "Make the descent in your heart. Our soul will cross the moving waters." Here is Isaiah: "You will go out in joy,"⁶⁴ that is, learn to abandon gladly false beliefs and to turn to: "His truth endureth to all generations."⁶⁵ This is the Passover or the crossing to Jerusalem, that is, the City of Peace and its fortress Zion. Come together, my friends, let us go up the mountain of God, to the house of Jacob's God, and say there, "My heart and my flesh rejoice in the living God."⁶⁶

JAMES: Oh, blessed mountain! If only we knew how to ascend you!

60. *Matt.* 6:10, *Luke* 11:2.

61. The reference is to Epicurus, *To Menoeceus*, 130, 9–10.

62. An old Russian measure of weight: 1 zolotnik=4.27 gm.

63. *Ps.* 84:7.

64. *Is.* 55:12.

65. *Ps.* 100:5.

66. Cf. *Ps.* 84:2: "My heart and my flesh crieth out for the living God."

LONGINUS: Listen to Isaiah: "You will go out in joy."⁶⁷

ATHANASIUS: But where am I to get joy? And what is it?

LONGINUS: "The fear of the Lord maketh a merry heart."⁶⁸ Here is your leader. Here is the angel of the great council. Have you not heard what God told Moses?

ATHANASIUS: What?

LONGINUS: "I will send my fear before thee...."⁶⁹ Behold, I send an Angel;⁷⁰ Beware of him, and obey his voice, provoke him not, for my name is in him."⁷¹

ERMOLAI: Tell us more clearly, my friend, how we are to descend?

GREGORY: I humbly beg you to listen to this fable. [344]

Five travellers, guided by their guardian angel, came to the Kingdom of Peace and Love. Melchizedek,⁷² the king of this land, was in no way like other kings. There was nothing perishable in his kingdom, everything was eternal and pleasant down to the last hair, and his laws were wholly opposed to tyranny. A beautiful and shining arch marked the boundary of this blessed land, and on it was written: "The Primordial World." Everything that Holy Writ says about the Promised Land applied to this world. All things around it seemed and were plunged in darkness.

As soon as the newcomers reached the shining arch, a great multitude of the immortal inhabitants went forth to greet them. They divested the newcomers of everything that was old—clothing as well as the body that came off like a garment—and dressed them in a new body and clothing embroidered in gold with these words: "Get a firmer grasp of yourself."

Suddenly, harmonious music was heard. A choir sang: "Be ye lift up, ye everlasting doors...."⁷³ The gates were lifted and the guests were conducted to those cloistered chambers of which David sang:

67. *Is.* 55:12.

68. *Sir.* 1:12.

69. *Ex.* 23:27.

70. *Ex.* 23:20.

71. *Ex.* 23:21, Skovoroda omits a part of the sentence without indicating this.

72. Cf. *Gen.* 14:18–20.

73. *Ps.* 24:7

"How amiable are thy tabernacles...."⁷⁴ There choirs sang in superb harmony: "How goodly are thy tents, O Jacob, and thy tabernacles, O Israel,⁷⁵ for they were built by God, not man." The travellers sat down to an immortal meal. They were offered angelic bread, new wine, a perfect lamb a year old, a heifer three years old, a she-goat, and the calf that Abraham had offered to his ever longed-for Guest in three persons;⁷⁶ young pigeons and turtledoves and manna—and everything needful for a feast, of which it is written: "Blessed is he who has dined."⁷⁷

However, the guests were not merry during all this merry-making. Some secret sorrow gnawed at their hearts. "Have no fear, dear guests, " said the blessed citizens, "this happens to all newcomers. In them the divine saying has to be fulfilled: 'Six times shalt thou be rid of thy sorrows, and the seventh time this evil will not touch thee.'"⁷⁸ Then they were led to the King himself. "I know your complaint before you make your petition," said the King of Peace. "In my realm there is neither sickness nor sorrow nor lamentation."⁷⁹ You yourselves have brought this sorrow with you from the alien, heathen lands which are hostile to my land."

Then He commanded his angels to take them away to the house of healing. There they took emetics for six days; on the seventh they were fully cured of their ills. Instead of sorrow, there was written on one heart "Thy will be done"; on another "Righteous art thou, O Lord, and upright thy judgments";⁸⁰ on a third "Abraham believed in the Lord";⁸¹ on a fourth "I will praise thee for ever";⁸² on a fifth "In every thing give thanks."⁸³

74. *Ps.* 84:1.

75. This part of the quotation is from *Num.* 24:5. The rest of the quotation remains unidentified.

76. The reference is to *Gen.* 18.

77. Cf. "It is good and comely for one to eat and to drink" (*Eccl.* 5:18).

78. Cf. *II Kings* 5:10: "Go and wash in Jordan seven times, and thy flesh shall come again to thee, and thou shalt be clean."

79. Cf. *Rev.* 21:4.

80. *Ps.* 119:137.

81. Cf. *Gen.* 15:6.

82. Cf. *Ps.* 52:9.

83. *I Thess.* 5:18.

Meanwhile, the universal assembly sang this song by Isaiah, clapping its hands in harmony and joy unspeakable: [345] "And the Lord shall guide thee continually, and thou shalt eat to thy soul's content, and thy bones shall grow fat and shall be like a watered garden and like a spring of water, whose waters fail not, and thy bones shall grow like grass and become rich, and generation shall follow generation."⁸⁴ All the inhabitants to the last one sang this song so sweetly and loudly that even my heart's ear in this world could hear it.

ATHANASIUS: I know what you mean. But what emetic did they take?

GREGORY: Strong spirits.

ATHANASIUS: What are these spirits called?

GREGORY: The Eucharist.

ATHANASIUS: And where may we obtain it?

GREGORY: Poor fellow. Do you not yet know that the King's house of healing is the most Holy Bible? There you will find an apothecary and a heavenly hospital staffed by angels, while the archiatrist⁸⁵ is within you. To this hospital chamber the compassionate Samaritan brought the unfortunate traveller to Jericho. Only in this house of healing can you find remedies to cleanse your heart of malicious and cruel enemies, of whom it is written: "A man's enemies are the men of his own house."⁸⁶ Your enemies are your own opinions,⁸⁷ which have established their reign in your heart, constantly tormenting it; they murmur against God, slander and oppose Him, continually disparage the order that governs the world and attempt to restore the most ancient laws. In darkness they eternally torment themselves and those who agree with them, because they see that the governance of nature does not follow their demonic desires or their confused ideas, but continues religiously according to the counsels of our Father—yesterday, today, and forever. Those without understanding dispraise the disposition of the heavenly orbits, criticize the quality of the

84. Cf. *Is.* 58:11–12.

85. Meaning 'chief doctor.'

86. *Mic.* 7:6.

87. Skovoroda's term "mnenie," like the German "Meinung," suggests self-centred or selfish opinion.

earth, find fault with the creations of God's wise right hand in animals, trees, mountains, rivers, and grasses. Nothing satisfies them. According to their absurd and gloomy view, there is no need in the world for night, winter, old age, labour, hunger, thirst, disease, or—most of all—death. What purpose does it serve? Ah, our poor small knowledge, our tiny concepts! I think that we would govern the world machine no worse⁸⁸ than a son brought up in lawlessness would govern his father's house. Whence did these demons come to settle in our hearts? Are they not legion in us? But we ourselves have brought this primordial darkness with us; we were born with it.

ATHANASIUS: Why do you call opinions demons?

GREGORY: And what would you call them?

ATHANASIUS: I do not know.

GREGORY: But I do. In Greek a demon is called *daimonion*.

Athanasius. What of it?

GREGORY: So *daimonion* means 'little knowledge' or 'little understanding' [346] and *daimon* means 'one who knows or understands.' Please, forgive me for using the name of a large demon to refer to little demons.

LONGINUS: An illiterate man named Marko—according to the fable—went to heaven. Saint Peter came out with his keys and, opening the heavenly gates, asked: "Have you studied sacred languages?" "Not a one," answered the simple man. "Did you go to divinity school?" "Never, Holy Father." "Have you read the works of the ancient theologians?" "I have not read them; I don't know an 'A' when I see it."⁸⁹ "Then who has set you upon the path of peace?" "Three little rules have done it." "Which rules are those?" "They are: (1) Everything that is prescribed also for holy men is good, (2) Whatever wicked men also obtain is of small account, (3) Do not wish for another what you do not want for yourself. The first and second are home-grown rules; I thought them up myself. The third is a law of the Apostles, given for [men of] all tongues. The first rule has brought me the forbearance and gratitude of Job; the second has freed

88. Obviously, Skovoroda should have said "no better."

89. The sentence has internal rhyme: "Ia aza v glaza ne znaiu."

me from all worldly lusts; the third has reconciled me with my inner Lord.”

The Apostle, his face as bright as the sun, glanced at him and exclaimed, “Oh blessed and grateful soul! Enter the dwelling of your Heavenly Father and rejoice eternally. You have eaten little but are well fed.”

JAMES: Understanding is not generated by books but books by understanding. He who has purified his reason with clear thinking about the truth is like the zealous householder who digs a well of pure and living water in his house, as it is written: “Counsel in the heart of man is like deep water.”⁹⁰ “My son, drink waters out of thine own cisterns....”⁹¹ At the same time, if one nibbles at books, one can benefit much from them, as it is written by Paul who was illumined from heaven: “Wherefore I pray you to take some meat for this is for your health.”⁹² Such is our Mark—he is one of the cud-chewing cattle dedicated to God. “Sanctify them through thy truth.”⁹³ He ate little but chewed much, and from a tiny sum or spark kindled a flame that encompassed the universe. Do we know much more than he? How many holy words have we thrown into our stomachs? And to what effect? They have simply given us indigestion. Ah, you poor bleeding woman with a weak stomach! See the effect of the noxious phlegm vomited up by the serpent of the Apocalypse, against which Solomon warned his son: “Drink not from strangers’ wells.”⁹⁴

How can the peace of God—the health, joy, and life of the soul—find room in a heart filled with such bitter waters? Let us first seek out the spark of God’s truth within us, which, lighting up our darkness, will send us to the holy waters of Siloam to which the prophet summons us: “Wash you, make you clean; put away the evil of your doings....”⁹⁵ Here is your emetic! Is our life not a battle? But must we struggle with our serpent-like opinions? Is this not the most noble battle of which Paul [347] writes: “For we wrestle not

90. *Prov.* 20:5.

91. *Prov.* 5:15. Skovoroda treats this and the preceding sentence as one quotation.

92. *Acts* 27: 34.

93. *Jn.* 17:17.

94. *Prov.* 5:17: “Let them be only thine own, and not strangers’ with thee.”

95. *Isa.* 1:16.

against flesh and blood...."⁹⁶ Opinion and counsel is the seed and the beginning. The head is nested in the heart. But what if it is a serpent's head? What if it is a bad seed and a kingdom of evil? What kind of peace can the heart expect from such a tyrant? He is a slayer of men, who has observed, guarded, loved, and ruled the darkness from the beginning.

If the heart is filled up with such a bitter sea of opinions, if a pit of evil has swallowed up the soul, what light can we hope for among the dark swarm of sorrows? What mirth and sweetness can we hope for where there is no light? What peace where there is neither life nor mirth? What life and peace if there is no God? What God without the spirit of truth and the spirit of dominion? What spirit of truth without unworldly thoughts and a pure heart? What purity if it is not eternal—as it is written: "His truth endureth to all generations"?⁹⁷ How can it be eternal if it is lost in the contemplation of matter? How can it fail to be lost in contemplation of it if it esteems matter? How can one fail to esteem it if one depends on it? How can one fail to depend on it if one grieves over the dissolution of one's dust? Is this not to have the kind of heart of which it is written: "Thou knowest their hearts to be like ashes; they are deceived, and not one of them can deliver his soul"?⁹⁸ Is this not a Fall and a sinful wandering away from God toward the idolatry of dust? Is this not the head of the serpent of which it is written: "He shall crush thy head"?⁹⁹ Listen, Ermolai! This is how you must ascend the mountain of peace: you must take an emetic, purify your heart, cast out old opinions, and not return to this vomit. Drink pure water, the water of new counsels for all your days.

This is to move from baseness to mountain heights, from sorrow to sweetness, from death to life, from puddles fit for swine to the springs of heaven fit for deer and antelopes. Drink until rivers of living water flow from your belly, slaking your most unhappy thirst,

96. *Eph.* 6:12.

97. *Ps.* 100:5.

98. Skovoroda's rendering of this verse (*Is.* 44:20) follows the Church Slavonic and Septuagint texts. The King James version is significantly different: "He feedeth on ashes: a deceived heart hath turned him aside, that he cannot deliver his soul." According to Old Testament scholars, the King James version here follows the Hebrew text.

99. Cf. *Gen.* 3:15: "it shall bruise thy head."

that is, your emptiness and dissatisfaction—your envy, lust, boredom, murmuring, longing, fear, sorrow, remorse, and other stings of the demons' heads which all together bring death upon the soul. Drink until you can sing: "Our soul is escaped as a bird ... it will cross the flowing water,"¹⁰⁰ "Blessed be the Lord, who hath not given us as a prey to their teeth."¹⁰¹ Drink until you can console yourself with Habakkuk, singing: "Thou woundest the head out of the house of the wicked, I will rejoice in the Lord, I will joy in the God of my salvation";¹⁰² singing with Hannah: "My heart rejoiceth in the Lord";¹⁰³ singing with David: "Lord, lift thou up the light of thy countenance upon us."¹⁰⁴

Ancient opinion is a most powerful and cunning enemy. According to the Gospels, it is difficult to tie up this strongman and to seize his vessels of opinion, once he has been reborn in the heart. But what is sweeter than such labour which brings priceless peace back to our hearts? Struggle from day to day and cast them out one by one. Climb bravely from hour to hour up the mountain, declaring with David: "I shall not turn back until they are consumed...."¹⁰⁵ This [349] is the glorious slaughter of Sodom and Gomorrah from which Abram, the divine conqueror, returned.¹⁰⁶

GREGORY: My friends, let us fully live out our lives and let our senseless days and minutes flow past. We take the trouble to get whatever is needful to the flux of our days; but our chief concern should be for the peace of our soul, that is, for its life, health, and salvation. What is the use of ruling over the universe if we lose our own soul?¹⁰⁷ What will you find in the world so precious and profitable that you would venture to exchange your soul for it? Oh, let us step carefully so as to succeed in entering God's rest and the Lord's holiday, or at least a Sabbath, if not the most blessed Sabbath of Sabbaths and feast of feasts.

100. The first sentence is from *Ps.* 124:7. The second could not be identified.

101. *Ps.* 124:6.

102. The first sentence is from *Hab.* 3:13, the second and third from *Hab.* 3:18.

103. *1 Sam.* 2:1.

104. *Ps.* 4:6.

105. Cf. *Ps.* 18:37.

106. See *Gen.* ch. 14.

107. Cf. *Matt.* 16:26.

On the Sabbath we shall be able to release our soul, if not our donkey, from at least half of the most arduous chores and shall attain, if not a general amnesty for man and beast in the Lord's pleasant summer of the seventh seven-year period or the fiftieth year, according to the Apostles, then at least some freedom for our poor soul from these labours: "How long shall I take counsel in my soul, having sorrow in my heart daily?"¹⁰⁸ In man the head of all things is the human heart. It is that which is most truly human in man: everything else is peripheral, as Jeremiah teaches: "Deep is the heart of man (above all things); it is man, and who can know it?"¹⁰⁹ Please, take note that the deep heart is man.... But what is the heart, if not the soul? What is the soul, if not a bottomless pit of thought? What is thought, if not the root, seed, and kernel of all our external flesh, blood, skin, and other outwardness? You see that a man who has destroyed the peace of his heart has destroyed his head and root.

Is he not just like a nut, the kernel of which has been eaten away by worms, so that it has no strength, only a shell? The Lord speaks to these impoverished people with such compassion in Isaiah: "Come ye near unto me, ye who have lost your hearts and are far from the truth."¹¹⁰ Thought is the secret spring within our bodily machine, the head and beginning of all its motion. All the outward limbs follow this head like tethered cattle. Thought, like fire or a river, is never still. Its continuous striving is desire. A flame may die down, a river may cease to flow, but thought—which is without matter or the elements and supports crude corruption, wearing it like a dead vestment—is absolutely incapable (whether it is within the body or outside it) of suspending its motion even for a moment, and continues

108. *Ps.* 13:2.

109. Skovoroda's rendering of this verse (*Jer.* 17:9)—"Gluboko serdtse cheloveku (pache vsekh) i chelovek est, i kto poznaet ego?"—is a literal translation of the Septuagint Greek: "Batheia hē kardia para panta, kai anthrōpos estin, kai tis gnōsetai auton." The King James version is very different: "The heart is deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked: who can know it?" Skovoroda clearly wishes to assert (with the Septuagint) that the "heart," that is, intention and volition, is deep and hidden from view, not (with the King James version) that it is deceitful and wicked. According to Old Testament scholars, the King James version here follows the Hebrew text except that the Hebrew words rendered by "desperately wicked" should be translated as "exceedingly weak."

110. This diverges substantially from *Is.* 48:16.

its striving, flying like lightning through boundless eternities and infinities without number.

What does it strive toward? It seeks its sweetness and rest, but its rest is not lying still and stretching out like a dead body. This is alien and contrary to its living nature. [350] Thought, like a traveller on the road, seeks its own likeness among the dead elements, and intensifying, rather than slaking its thirst by base diversions, it moves the more rapidly from corrupt material nature toward the supreme divine nature, the beginningless beginning or principle which is akin to it, so that having been purified by its radiance and by the flame of its secret vision, it may free itself from its bodily earth and earthly body. And this is to enter into the divine rest, to purge oneself of all corruption, to move in complete *freedom* and without obstruction, flying from the narrow limits of matter to the freedom of the spirit, as it is written: "Thou hast set my feet in a large room...."¹¹¹ He brought me forth also into a large place....¹¹² I bare you on eagles' wings, and brought you unto myself."¹¹³ And this is what David requests: "Oh that I had wings like a dove! For then would I fly away, and be at rest."¹¹⁴

ERMOLAI: But where does thought find this beginningless beginning and supreme nature?

GREGORY: If it does not first find it within itself, it will seek it in vain in other places. But this is the task of the perfect in heart, while we must learn the alphabet of that most blessed Sabbath or day of rest.

ERMOLAI: To overpower the dragon of the Apocalypse and the terrible beast (with iron teeth) which, according to the prophet Daniel,¹¹⁵ devours everything and tramples whatever is left is the task of the heroes whom, according to the *Book of Numbers*,¹¹⁶ God orders Moses to enter in the indestructible war lists, leaving out women and children who cannot increase the number of God's saints who are born not of blood, the lust of the flesh, or the lust of men, but of

111. *Ps.* 31:8.

112. *Ps.* 18:19.

113. *Ex.* 19:4.

114. *Ps.* 55:6.

115. *Dan.* ch. 7.

116. *Nu.* ch. 1.

God,¹¹⁷ as it is written: "I shall not assemble congregations of them by blood...." They alone rest with God from all their labours, while there is enough divine grace for us weaklings so that we can do battle with little devils. Often one tiny little demonic spirit stirs up in the heart a terrible rebellion and bitter revolt that consumes the soul like a conflagration.

GREGORY: You have to stand bravely and give no ground to the devil: if you resist, he will flee from you. It is shameful to be so like a woman or infant as to fail in resisting one idle invader or even a small party of them. O Lord! How remiss we are in winning and keeping that peace of the heart that is the most precious thing on earth or in Heaven! A man should think only of this when he is alone and speak only of this when he is with others, whether at home or on the road, lying down or getting up. But when do we think of it? Are not all our conversations mere idle talk and demonic wind? Ah, how little self-knowledge have we attained, having forgotten our house, which was not built by men, and its head—our soul, and the soul's head—the God-like paradise of peace. Our just reward is that we can scarcely find one heart [351] in a thousand that is not occupied by a garrison of several detachments of demons.

Since we did not learn with Habakkuk to stand guard for God¹¹⁸ and to continue this most profitable war, we have become at root negligent, deaf, stupid, cowardly, unskilled, and generally weak fighters so that God's greatest favour to us, which we fail to appreciate, perplexes our hearts as a wolf does sheep; for example, one man worries because he is not well born, handsome of countenance, or gently bred. Another is troubled because, although he leads a blameless life, many people, both high-born and base, hate and disparage him, calling him a desperado, scoundrel, or hypocrite. A third grieves because he has not attained the profession or station that could have provided him with ten-course dinners instead of the six courses he now has. A fourth torments himself trying to hold onto a burdensome but profitable profession so as to not die of boredom in idleness, never realizing that nothing is more useful and important

117. Cf. *John* 1:13: "Which were born, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God."

118. *Hab.* 2:1.

than to manage piously not one's external, domestic economy, but one's internal, spiritual economy; that is, to know oneself and to bring order into one's heart. A fifth makes himself miserable because he feels he has the ability to serve society, but cannot fight his way through so many candidates to gain the position he seeks—as though only public servants had occasion to be virtuous, and as though service were different from good works, or good works from virtue. A sixth is filled with alarm because his hair has begun to turn grey, because pitiless old age with its dreadful army is approaching hour by hour followed by invincible death with yet another army. He worries because his body is beginning to grow weak, his eyes and teeth are failing, he no longer has the strength to dance, he can no longer eat and drink as heartily as he once could, or enjoy it as much, and so on.

But can one count the countless hordes of unclean spirits and black crows or (according to Paul) earthly spirits of malice that roam the dark and unlimited abyss of our soul as the largest air space? All these petty spirits are not yet giants nor the greatest idlers like little lap dogs,¹¹⁹ but they really perturb our hearts which are unskilled in battle and unarmed with counsel. The most insignificant little devil frightens our unfortified little town. What will happen when we are attacked by lions? I shall confess to you, my friends, one of my weaknesses. I happened to take part, not without success, in a conversation among select company. I was enjoying it when, suddenly, my joy evaporated: two individuals began to abuse and ridicule me slyly, dropping pretty words that subtly hinted at my humble origins, low status, and physical uncomeliness. I am ashamed to recall how this perplexed my heart [352], all the more so because I had not expected this from them. It was with great effort and after long reflection that I managed to calm down by recalling that they were an old woman's sons.

ATHANASIUS: What do you mean?

GREGORY: An old woman was buying pots.¹²⁰ She still remembered the love affairs of her young years. "And what do you want for this pretty one?" "For that one give me at least three quarter-copecks," answered the potter. "And this ugly one here will be a quarter-copeck, of course."

119. Literally, "bed dogs."

120. This is Skovoroda's Fable 29.

"I won't take less than two copecks for that one." "How odd!" "We, old woman," said the craftsman, "do not judge pots with our eyes; we test them for a clear ringing sound." Although the old woman was not dull-witted, she could not find a repartee and declared merely that she knew this long ago but had forgotten it.

ATHANASIUS: These people, who have the same tastes, prove conclusively that they are the fruit of the apple tree in paradise.

JAMES: A law-abiding life, firm reason, a magnanimous and merciful heart—these are the clear-ringing sounds of a respected person.

GREGORY: Do you see, my friends, how we have degenerated from our ancestors? The most trivial little opinion of an old woman can upset our heart.

ERMOLAI: Don't be angry. Peter himself was frightened by an old woman: "For thou art a Galilean, and thy speech agreeth thereto."¹²¹

LONGINUS: But was this the kind of heart found in our ancient ancestors? Who can remember Job without horror? But, despite his sufferings, it is written: "In all this Job sinned not, nor charged God foolishly."¹²² Listen to what Luke writes about the first Christians: "In them was one soul and one heart."¹²³ But what is it? What kind of a heart was in them? Besides harmonious love, it was filled with "rejoicing that they were counted worthy to suffer shame for his name."¹²⁴ And here is another heroic heart: "We who are slandered take comfort."¹²⁵ "I rejoice in my suffering."¹²⁶ Who can read the part of his epistle that is read on the day of his victory without being amazed? It is a spectacle of the most wonderful miracles that captivate the heart's eye. What a miracle! What brings others bitter disappointment brings Paul mirth because his breath or soul is like a healthy stomach, which thrives on the coarsest and hardest food. Is this not to have a diamond heart? The heaviest blow shatters everything else but strengthens him. Oh peace! You are God's and God is yours! This is true happiness: to obtain a heart encircled by

121. *Mark* 14:70.

122. *Job* 1:22.

123. Cf. *Acts* 4:32. *Acts* was traditionally considered to be the work of Luke.

124. *Acts* 5:41.

125. Cf. *1Cor.* 4:13: "Being defamed, we intreat."

126. Cf. *Col.* 1:24: "Who now rejoice in my sufferings."

diamond walls and to say: "God's power is with us: we have peace with God."¹²⁷

ERMOLAI: Ah, this peace is lofty and difficult to obtain. How marvelous was the heart that thanked God for all things.

LONGINUS: It is difficult, almost impossible, but it is worthy of the greatest effort. It is difficult, but without such peace life is a thousand times more difficult. It is laboursome but this labour frees us from countless very heavy labours such as: "As an heavy burden, they are too heavy for me. Neither is there any rest [353] in my bones."¹²⁸ Is it not shameful to say that it is difficult to carry this yoke when carrying it we find a treasure like the heart's peace? "Take my yoke upon you ... and ye shall find rest unto your souls."¹²⁹ How much effort do we expend to little purpose, often vainly, and sometimes harmfully? To feed and clothe the body is difficult but needful; we cannot get along without it. Bodily life consists in this, and no one should regret this effort, for without it one will fall into sore distress, into cold, hunger, thirst and sickness.

But would you not find it easier to live on rough herbs and have peace and consolation in your heart, than to dine at an overflowing table and be like a whited sepulchre filled with unsleeping worms that gnaw at the soul day and night without rest? Is it not better to cover one's poor body with rags and dress the heart in the vestments of salvation and the garments of mirth, than to wear gold-brocaded clothes and bear the fire of Gehenna at the centre of one's soul, the fire that sears the heart with demonic grievings? What profits you to sit in your body, enjoying every comfort among the beautiful corners of your house, if your heart is cast from an ornamented chamber into the outer darkness of discontent. About this chamber it is written: "the fowls of the heaven have their habitation"¹³⁰ ... founded upon a rock.¹³¹ That Rock was Christ¹³² ... he is our peace.¹³³ Our soul is

127. The first sentence is from *Col.* 1:11, the second from *Rom.* 5:1.

128. The first sentence is from *Ps.* 38:4, the second from *Ps.* 38:3.

129. *Matt.* 11:29.

130. *Ps.* 104:12.

131. *Matt.* 7:25.

132. *I Cor.* 10:4.

133. *Eph.* 2:14.

escaped as a bird out of the snare of fowlers: the snare is broken and we are escaped.¹³⁴ Who will give me wings?"¹³⁵

Why do you speak to me of difficulty? A man who has fallen into a pit or into deep waters thinks not of the difficulties but of saving himself. If you build a house, build it for both parts of your being—body and soul. If you deck and adorn the body, do not forget the heart. There are two kinds of bread, houses, garments—two kinds of everything. All things come in twos so that there are two men in each man, two fathers—the heavenly and the earthly, two worlds—the original and the temporal, and two natures—the divine and the bodily—in all things. If one mixes them together and acknowledges only the visible nature, one falls into home-grown idolatry. This is precisely what the Holy Bible prevents by acting as an arch that bounds all perishability and as a gate that leads our hearts to the faith of the true conception of God, to the hope of divine Nature, and the kingdom of peace and love, the original world.

And this is enduring peace: to believe in and recognize the ruling nature and to depend on it as on an invincible city and to think "my God, the Lord, liveth."¹³⁶ Then you will say, "And my soul lives." Without this how can you depend on perishable nature? How can you avoid trembling when you see that all perishable things appear and disappear at every instant? Who would not be upset watching the perishing truth of being? Such people should not await peace but should listen to Isaiah: "They are troubled [354] and cannot rest. There is no rejoicing for the wicked, says the Lord God."¹³⁷ Look and see who ascends the mountain of peace: "The Lord is my strength and he will make my feet for perfection, and lead me to high places, which will give me victory in his song."¹³⁸ He acknowledges the Lord and sings before those who do not see Him and God leads him to the mountain of peace. To deny the Lord is the most

134. *Ps.* 124:7.

135. Cf. *Ps.* 55:6: "Oh that I had wings like a dove!"

136. Cf. *1 Kings* 17:12: "the Lord thy God liveth."

137. Cf. *Isa.* 57:20–1: "But the wicked are like the troubled sea, when it cannot rest....There is no peace, saith my God, to the wicked."

138. Cf. *Hab.* 3:19: "The Lord God is my strength, and he will make my feet like hinds' feet, and he will make me to walk upon mine high places. To the chief singer on my stringed instruments."

tormenting distress and the heart's death, as Habakkuk sings: "You have put death in the heads of the wicked."¹³⁹ David calls this head heart and the heart is our central part, the head of the surrounding parts. What kind of head? The work of their lips. What kind of lips? Until I place the counsels in my soul and the illnesses in my feet. The work of the lips is the illness of the heart and the illness of the heart is death, which is put in the heads of the wicked, and this natural death, which with its sting kills the soul is the confusion of perishable and divine nature; and this confused mixture is a deviation from the divine nature in the direction of dust and ashes, as it is written: "Your food will turn to dust."¹⁴⁰ The deviation is the Fall, as it is written: "Who can understand the Fall?"¹⁴¹ Here is what Sirach says of sin: "the teeth thereof are as the teeth of a lion, slaying the souls of men."¹⁴² This is darkness! This is going astray! This is misfortune!

You see where bodily nature has brought us, what comes of the confusion of natures? This is the native idolatrous frenzy and deviation from divine Nature and ignorance about God. The well-known grief of this kind of heart is that we do not care for anything except the body's good, like genuine pagans, "for all these things do the pagans of the world seek after"¹⁴³ and if one lifts up one's eyes even slightly toward the blessed Nature, we immediately cry out: it is difficult, difficult! This is to call sweet bitter; but the righteous man lives by faith. And what is faith but the disclosure and clarification of the unseen Nature as grasped by the heart? And is this not to be the Israel that is dear to us and divides everything into two and dedicates the invisible half of all visible things to the Lord? Paul sings about this to the lucky man: "And as many as walk according to this rule, peace be on them, and mercy."¹⁴⁴ Tell me, please how is one who knows perfectly well that nothing can perish and that everything exists eternally and invisibly in its beginning confused?

ERMOLAI: To me this seems rather obscure.

139. Cf. *Hab.* 3:13 : "thou woundest the head out of the house of the wicked."

140. Cf. *Gen.* 3:14: "dust shalt thou eat."

141. Cf. *Ps.* 19:12: "Who can understand his errors?"

142. *Sir.* 21:2.

143. *Luke* 12:30.

144. *Gal.* 6:16.

LONGINUS: How could it fail to seem obscure to one who is wallowing in the mire of disbelief! Please, open your eyes and clear your sight. The kingdom of blessed Nature, although it is hidden, is not undetectable behind the external signs: it stamps its footprints on empty matter like the truest image in the oils of a painting. All matter is but painted mud, muddied paint, and picturesque powder. But blessed Nature is the beginning or principle itself, that is, a beginningless invention or contrivance and the wisest delineation that supports all the visible colours [355]. These fit their imperishable strength and essence as clothes fit the body. David himself calls the appearance of things a garment: "All of them shall wax old like a garment...."¹⁴⁵ And he calls the image a handbreadth, a surveyor's chain, the right hand, or the truth: "Beauty is in thy right hand...."¹⁴⁶ "You have measured in handbreadths...."¹⁴⁷ "Thy right hand upholdeth me...."¹⁴⁸ "The truth of the Lord endureth for ever."¹⁴⁹ I looked at my body as well with the same sight: "The hands have made me and fashioned me...."¹⁵⁰ He avoids the moving water of his perishability. "Our soul will cross the raging waters";¹⁵¹ and its thought will penetrate into the very power and kingdom concealed in the dust of His right hand and will cry, "The Lord is the strength of my life; of whom shall I be afraid?"¹⁵² "Blessed is the man whom thou choosest, and causest to approach unto thee."¹⁵³ Happy is he who has flown over into the kingdom of blessed Nature! On this Paul says: "We walk on earth but turn to the heavens."¹⁵⁴ Solomon writes of the same world: "But the souls of the righteous are in the hand of God, and there shall no torment touch them."¹⁵⁵

145. *Ps.* 102:26.

146. Cf. *Ps.* 16:11: "at thy right hand there are pleasures for evermore."

147. Cf. *Ps.* 39:5: "thou hast made my days as an handbreadth."

148. *Ps.* 63:8.

149. *Ps.* 117:2.

150. *Ps.* 119:73.

151. This may be a reference to *Ps.* 124:4–5 and not a quotation in the manuscript.

152. *Ps.* 27:1.

153. *Ps.* 65:4.

154. Cf. *Phil.* 3:20: "For our conversation is in heaven."

155. *Wisdom of Solomon* 3:1.

This is secretly expressed by the rituals of circumcision and baptism. To die with Christ is to leave behind one's elemental and impotent nature and enter the unseen and lofty worlds to philosophize. He who has fallen in love with these sweet words has already made the transition: "The flesh is as nothing...."¹⁵⁶ Whatever perishes is flesh. It is here that the Passover, the resurrection and the exodus to the Promised Land belong. The tribes of Israel that appear before the Lord are included here. Here are all the prophets and apostles who dwell in the City of our God, upon His Holy Mountain, which is peace to Israel.

ERMOLAI: You speak darkly.

ATHANASIUS: You have so clogged your speech with scraps of Scripture that no one can understand it.

LONGINUS: Dear friends, forgive my excessive attachment to this book.

I acknowledge my great passion for it. From my earliest years a mysterious force and mania¹⁵⁷ has drawn me to morally edifying books and I love them above all other books. They heal and make my heart glad. I began to read the Bible at about thirty years of age. But this splendid book won out over all my other loves, slaking my long-lasting hunger and thirst with the bread and water of God's truth and justice, which are sweeter to me than honey and the honeycomb. I feel a special natural affinity for it. I have fled and I flee, under the guidance of my Lord, all the obstacles of life and all carnal lovers, so that I might quietly enjoy the pure embrace of this daughter of God who is fairer than all the daughters of men. She has given birth for me out of her immaculate womb to that miraculous Adam who, according to Paul, "after God is created in righteousness and true holiness"¹⁵⁸ and of whom Isaiah says: "Who shall declare his generation?"¹⁵⁹

There is no end to my wonder at the wisdom of the prophets. The most trivial details in their writings seem to me of great [356] moment: one who is in love always feels this way. There are many who find no flavour in the words: "Benjamin shall ravine as a wolf:

156. Cf. *Jn.* 6:63: "The flesh profiteth nothing."

157. Skovoroda uses the Greek word for madness.

158. *Eph.* 4:24.

159. *Is.* 53:8.

in the morning he shall devour the prey, and at night he shall divide the spoil.”¹⁶⁰ “Your eyes are on the filling up of waters...”¹⁶¹ But they fill my heart with unspeakable sweetness and gladness the more I ruminate upon them. The more profound and unpeopled is my solitude, the happier is my cohabitation with her who is beloved among women. I am content with the lot the Lord has given me. A male, a complete and true human being was born to me. I do not die childless. And let me boast, like the audacious Paul, about this human being: “I did not run in vain.”¹⁶² This is the Lord’s man of whom it is written: “His eyes will not grow dim.”¹⁶³

GREGORY: If you do not like Biblical crumbs, we can carry on our conversation in a different way. We have spent an entire Sunday morning discussing what we should always be thinking about. Tomorrow is a workday. However, when you gather, toward evening, let us speak more clearly about the soul’s peace. This subject is always worthy of our attention, for peace of soul is the intended end and haven of all our life.

Translated by George L. Kline and Taras D. Zakydalsky

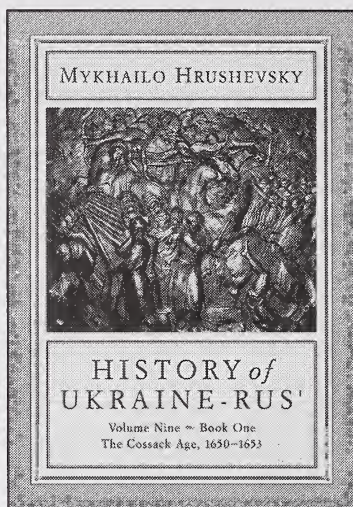
160. *Gen.* 49:27.

161. Cf. *Ps.* 119:136: “Rivers of waters run down mine eyes.”

162. *Phil.* 2:16.

163. Cf. *Is.* 32:3: “And the eyes of them that see shall not be dim.”

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Political Identity under Invasion: Kherson Oblast in Summer 1941

*Oleksandr Melnyk**

In September 1941, shortly before the German armed forces overran the northern part of Kherson Oblast of Ukraine, some twenty loyal Soviet citizens from the village of Ahaimany began to evacuate their kolkhoz property into the Soviet interior. After travelling for several weeks the men found themselves in an obscure Donbas village, where they heard of Kyiv's surrender on the radio. A heated argument about their course of action erupted:

Comrades Harmash and Mamontov took the rifles and began to threaten with violence those reluctant to distribute the food and linen. Other people announced their intent to return home, and if death was inevitable, they argued, it was better to die together with their children. Only five of us continued the journey. The other fifteen men decided to return home. Among them were seven Communists.¹

This testimony belongs to Grigorii Grigorievich Chuksin, one of the Communists who persevered in reaching the Soviet rear. What happened to the fifteen returnees is recorded in the documents of the official party commission for reviewing the wartime conduct of Communists, which worked in Ahaimany in August 1945.² Before returning to the German-

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1. Derzhavnyi arkhiv Khersonskoi oblasti (DAKhO), fond p-3562, list 2, file 50, fol. 50.

2. For the objectives and inner logic of this review, see Amir Weiner, *Making Sense*

occupied area, we learn, some of the Communists destroyed their party cards. Once in Ahaimany, the returnees were summoned to the local office of the German gendermerie and warned not to become involved in political activities and to cooperate with the occupation authorities. While most of them became simple labourers at the agricultural community in Ahaimany, at least one enrolled as an auxiliary policeman.³

Based on the analysis of archival documents from Kherson Oblast, this article explores the impact of the German invasion on the political identities of Soviet subjects; that is, the various ways in which ordinary people related to the Soviet state and the incoming Germans. In the process I shall question some of the assumptions of the so-called "totalitarian" school of historical thought that still permeate both scholarly and public conceptions of wartime Ukrainian Soviet society.

The basic components of the narrative I shall criticize crystallized in the West during the Cold War as various interest groups, including Western politicians, Sovietologists, Nazi German memoirists, and Ukrainian nationalists in the diaspora, negotiated the parameters of the discourse on Soviet society and its relations to the Communist regime.⁴ The results of this "collaborative" effort were there for all to see as early as 1957 when Alexander Dallin published his seminal study of the German occupation policies in the USSR.⁵

Making extensive use of declassified German documents and reminiscences of émigrés from the Soviet Union, Professor Dallin among other subjects discussed the problem of political identity or loyalty of the Soviet population on the eve of the German takeover. While he was well aware of the social fragmentation and the existence of a significant body of Soviet sympathizers, as well as of anti-Soviet elements among the population of the soon-to-be-occupied territories,⁶ other historians and memoirists tended to portray anti-Soviet attitudes as a characteristic, and

of War: *The Second World War and the Fate of the Bolshevik Revolution* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), esp. chap. 2.

3. DAKhO, fond p-3562, list 2, file 50, fols. 45–77.

4. For the history of the concept of totalitarianism around which such discussions frequently revolved, see Abbott Gleason, *Totalitarianism: The Inner History of the Cold War* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995).

5. Alexander Dallin, *German Rule in Russia, 1941–1945: A Study of Occupation Policies* (London: Macmillan, 1957).

6. Ibid., 63–5.

indeed, defining feature of Ukrainian Soviet society on the eve of the war. They typically postulated a correlation, if not a causal link, between the Soviet people's traumatic experiences of collectivization, the famine, and the Stalinist terror and their wartime behaviour. Desertions from Red Army units, voluntary surrender, and occasional collaboration with the occupation authorities were construed as manifestations of political anti-Sovietism, which could not be expressed openly before the arrival of the Wehrmacht.⁷

Although many studies cite the memory of past trauma as a source of popular disloyalty to the Communist regime, very few historians have attempted a serious investigation of popular mentalities and the socio-political dimensions of memory in Soviet Ukraine from the 1920s to the 1940s.⁸ Hence, we know very little about how the people of Soviet Ukraine assessed the Soviet past in 1941. Even Karel Berkhoff, whose work has expanded considerably our understanding of everyday life in Nazi-occupied Ukraine, translated discontent with the policies of the Soviet regime into automatic support for the incoming Germans and did not discuss the problem sufficiently.⁹

There is no question that some residents of Soviet Ukraine welcomed the German armies in fall 1941. To assert, however, that such attitudes predominated, would be to ignore the powerful tradition of local anti-Germanism. The latter reached as far back as the First World War¹⁰ and

7. See, for example, Fedir Pihido-Pravoberezhny, *Velyka vitchyzniana viina* (Winnipeg: Vydavnytstvo Novoho shliakhu, 1954); Gerald Reitlinger, *The House Built on Sand: The Conflicts of German Policy in Russia, 1939–1945* (New York: Viking Press, 1960); Orest Subtelny, *Ukraine: A History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), 460–1; Roger R. Reese, *Stalin's Reluctant Soldiers: A Social History of the Red Army, 1925–1941* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1996); and Karel Berkhoff, *Harvest of Despair: Life and Death in Ukraine under Nazi Rule* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2004), 6–35. See also the recent review of Karel Berkhoff's book by Jeff Rutherford, "Ukraine is Liberated from Ukrainians," (posted on H-German discussion network: <<http://www.h-net.org/reviews/showrev.cgi?path=302711104947593>>).

8. An exception is Kate Brown, *A Biography of No Place: From Ethnic Borderland to Soviet Heartland* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2004). For an excellent analysis of the ways in which memory of the Second World War influenced postwar Soviet governance in Vinnytsia Oblast, see Amir Weiner's book.

9. Berkhoff, *Harvest of Despair*, 20.

10. On peasant perceptions of the German occupation of Kharkiv Oblast in the First World War, see Mark Baker, "Peasants, Power, and Revolution in the Village: A Social History of the Kharkiv Province, 1914–1921" (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 2001): 118–60.

was reinforced by the relentless anti-fascist Soviet propaganda between 1933 and August 1939 and then after 22 June 1941. At least in Kherson Oblast anti-Germanism was very much alive at the beginning of the war. This explains partly why most Khersonians rallied around the Soviet government in June and July 1941.

Another question about popular attitudes is that of timing. At what point did the people who welcomed the Wehrmacht soldiers with bread and salt become "anti-Soviet" or "pro-German"? In 1918–21? In 1928–38? Or, perhaps, in summer and fall 1941, when the reality of war and Nazi propaganda imposed a different perspective on their past experiences?¹¹

Assuming that identities are not static, ossified categories, but rather dynamic constructs that fluctuate under the influence of fresh experiences and new ideas, I shall indicate some ways in which memories of the past, images of the enemy, and rumours about the situation at the front shaped the perception of available choices and influenced individual decisions in the weeks leading to the German takeover of the oblast. One outcome of these complex processes, I shall argue, was a radical reconfiguration of the heretofore more or less ideologically uniform Soviet body politic. The apparent unity of the Soviet people in resisting foreign invasion, which was characteristic of June 1941, was by early fall a thing of the past. By then many locals, including Communists and Komsomol members, had lost faith in the viability of the Soviet government. Within this large group some opportunists jumped on the Nazi German bandwagon and became full-fledged collaborators, while many others simply withdrew to the private realm to weather the gathering upheaval. Only a minority of the population clung to the belief in the ultimate victory of Soviet arms.

The war with Nazi Germany came as a surprise to many people in Kherson Oblast. To Lidiia Melnykova the quiet sunny morning of 22 June 1941 did not seem out of the ordinary. Just as the German task

11. Here my argument diverges not only from that of the "totalitarians," but also from Hiroaki Kuromiya's. While correctly pinpointing the social fragmentation that accompanied the German invasion and the ideological alternatives that became available to the population, Kuromiya wrongly assumes that new ideas reached the population *only after* the Germans occupied the territory. As a result he commits the same mistake as the "totalitarians," attributing all manifestations of "anti-Soviet" behaviour, such as destruction of Communist party cards, exclusively to the legacy of the preceding decades (Hiroaki Kuromiya, *Freedom and Terror in the Donbas: A Ukrainian-Russian Borderland, 1870s–1990s* [Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998], 263–6).

forces were overriding Soviet border outposts and marching deep into Soviet territory, the twelve-year-old girl and her father were inside their house, attending to some chores, when the mother told the family what she had heard from their neighbours, that just hours earlier the German army had invaded Soviet territory. Probably because of the Soviet-Nazi rapprochement in the preceding months, the idea of Germany attacking the USSR seemed so outlandish to this Kherson family that after a brief discussion Lidiia's parents dismissed the news as "a piece of rumour concocted by some and transmitted by others."¹² Newspapers that morning contained no hint of war. It took Molotov's famous radio speech in the afternoon to convince the Melnykovs and many fellow Khersonians that war between Germany and the Soviet Union was a fact.¹³ Only a few of the Khersonians who followed the Soviet press coverage of the campaign and endlessly discussed its progress in June 1941 anticipated the impact this cataclysmic event would have on their own lives and the course of history. For many residents of Kherson the sunny morning of 22 June would turn a few weeks later into an ultimate watershed splitting their lives into "then" and "now" and force them to rethink the nature of this conflict and their place in it.¹⁴

Immediately upon the German invasion of Soviet territory a general mobilization of draft-age men for service in the Red Army began throughout the USSR. According to official Soviet sources, the elaborate propaganda in the press, on the radio, and at meetings at Kherson's major industrial enterprises in the wake of Stalin's speech on 3 July produced the desired results—a high rate of voluntary enrollment in the recently created people's militia.¹⁵ The recruitment of army propagandists among party and Komsomol members also proceeded smoothly. According to the minutes of the session of the Kherson City Committee of the Communist Party, as of 27 July only one Communist refused to serve. While these data are incomplete because of the wartime destruction, the general trend is unmistakable.

12. DAKhO fond r-3497, list 1, file 27, fol. 11.

13. *Ibid.*

14. A young Khersonian, Hryts Panchenko, mentioned that he was fascinated by the war and followed the progress of the campaign in Soviet newspapers, noting with regret that the Soviet Army was in retreat (DAKhO, fond r-3497, list 1, file 2, fol. 5).

15. DAKhO, fond p-3562, list 2, file 39, fol. 8.

Among the many civilians who voluntarily joined the people's militia was Georgii Tsedrik, a Kherson resident of Belarusian nationality. An engineer at the Andre Marti Shipyards in Mykolaiv, he wanted to go to the front as a volunteer, but because he was listed as an indispensable worker, no military board would draft him. After deliberately quitting his job at the shipyards he finally managed to enlist in a bicycle battalion that was being formed in Mykolaiv¹⁶—a truly striking example of individual autonomy in a supposedly all-embracing totalitarian state under threat. Statistical data collected by the Mykolaiv Oblast Committee of the Communist Party reveal that in the fourteen raions that are now part of Kherson Oblast 29,869 people had volunteered for the Red Army and the people's militia by 21 July 1941.¹⁷ Only 2,935 of them were Communists, 5,064 were Komsomol members, and 9,780 were women. A simple calculation shows that the largest single group of 12,090 people was made up of men who were neither party nor Komsomol members.¹⁸ This serves as additional evidence that in 1941 allegiance to the Soviet cause extended well beyond the Communist party and its youth affiliate.¹⁹

The outburst of patriotism on the part of younger people seems to have gone hand in hand with the eagerness of some older citizens whose children served in the Red Army to participate in the war effort. Mogilevsky, a fifty-year-old Jewish *kolkhoznik* from the Kalinindorf Raion, wrote: "I have two sons in the Red Army. In my letters I tell them to fight the enemy and not to worry. My old woman and I will work in the fields as long as we have the strength."²⁰ Another *kolkhoznik*,

16. DAKhO, fond p-3562, list 2, file 53, fols. 11–12.

17. In 1941 the city of Kherson and many of the raions of today's Kherson Oblast were part of Mykolaiv Oblast. Kherson Oblast came into being after the expulsion of the Axis troops from the area in March 1944.

18. M. Bizer et al., eds. *Khersonskaia oblast v gody Velikoi Otechestvennoi voiny 1941–1944 gody* (Odesa: Maiak, 1968), 51. Although Soviet collections of wartime documents must be used with caution, in this case, I think, the numbers are credible, because the data for the Kalinindorf Raion reflected in this document agree with the numbers published by I. Shaikin and M. Ziabko, who used materials of the Central State Archives of Civic Organizations of Ukraine (TsDAHOU) in Kyiv. See their "Natsistskii genotsid v evreiskikh zemledelcheskikh koloniiakh iuga Ukrainy," in *Katastrofa i opir ukrainskoho evreistva, 1941–1944: Narysy z istorii Holokostu i oporu v Ukraini*, ed. S.Ia. Elisavetsky (Kyiv: Natsionalna akademiia nauk Ukrainy, Instytut politychnykh i etnonatsionalnykh doslidzhen, 1999).

19. See Weiner, *Making Sense of War*, 239–97.

20. Cited by Shaikin and Ziabko "Natsistskii genotsid," 155.

Draizman, said that he had four sons in the Red Army; therefore, he would work, sparing no effort.²¹ In assessing the enthusiastic response of the population to the calls of the Soviet leadership, one should remember that, being primarily an agricultural region with no strategically important industries, by mid-July 1941 Kherson and its environs had not experienced bombing. This accounts partly for the high morale in the area at the time.

The idealistic drive of Mogilevsky, Draizman, and other elderly Khersonians soon found an institutional framework in which it could be converted into tangible material results. The massive mobilization of adult men into the armed forces throughout summer 1941 created a vacuum in the oblast's labour force that was filled by the so-called labour army (*trudarmiia*), consisting of old men, teenagers, and sometimes even women. It was used to collect the harvest, dig trenches and anti-tank pits, and construct other sorts of defensive fortifications. Its recruits often spent months working dozens of kilometers away from home in dire living conditions without their families knowing their whereabouts.²²

Not unlike Soviet soldiers at the front, the mobilized workers were subjected frequently to German propaganda. Leaflets, generously strewn about by German planes, called on civilians to quit their work in view of its ultimate futility in the face of German military superiority.²³ This early "leaflet barrage," unlike German propaganda efforts in subsequent years, proved quite effective. It discouraged a considerable number of Red Army soldiers from continuing fighting and persuaded many civilians against evacuating. More importantly, German propaganda was one of the factors that fragmented the Soviet polity by providing a discourse in which some locals, particularly peasants, were able to express their grievances against the Soviet system as such, rather than against its individual agents.

21. Ibid.

22. For example Elizaveta Kliuchareva's father worked at the construction of fortifications near Nova Odesa, now in Mykolaiv Oblast, some 160 km from Kherson. There he got very sick and was released from duty (DAKhO, fond r-3497, list 1, file 27, fols. 20-1; also DAKhO, fond p-3562, list 2, file 53, fols. 11-12).

23. The text of one such leaflet written in decent Russian read "Milye damochki ne roite eti iamochki, vse ravno nashi tanochki zaroiut vashi iamochki" (Interview with Nadiia Melnyk [Lytvynova], Verkhni Rohachyk, Kherson Oblast, 13 August 2003). For a general overview of the German propaganda campaign directed against the Soviet Union and its army, see Ortwin Buchbender, *Das Tönende Erz: Deutsche Propaganda gegen die Rote Armee im Zweiten Weltkrieg* (Stuttgart: Seewald Verlag, 1978).

Yet it was the Soviet authorities who made the first contributions to the fragmentation of local society. While the Soviet state was attempting to rally the population to the Soviet cause and to harness all available manpower to the war effort, it did not relinquish the role of "gardener," which it had assumed in the preceding decades.²⁴ As in previous years, in 1941 the Soviet authorities had a monopoly on defining and cultivating trustworthy citizens and isolating and sometimes "weeding out" residents deemed unreliable or outright hostile. Despite the regime's internationalist and class rhetoric, a person's nationality was used most frequently as the criterion of loyalty and participation in official displays of Soviet patriotism.²⁵

One of the people who experienced the hand of the "gardening state" was a young nurse of Polish extraction Ianina Sadlii. Sometime in summer 1941 she applied to the military board in Kherson to serve as a nurse in the regular army, but the city military *kommandant* refused to draft her on account of her Polish nationality. This lack of trust deeply affected the young woman. "I did not remember how I made it home, I was blinded with tears," she remembered more than fifty years later.²⁶ Curiously enough this bitter experience did not undermine Sadlii's patriotism. Some Khersonians, however, were less forgiving than the idealistic young nurse. Among them ethnic Germans made up the largest group. Although the Soviet authorities regularly used the *Volksdeutsche* for all kinds of labour assignments, from August 1941 only a limited number of ethnic Germans were allowed to fight in the combat formations at the front.²⁷ In summer 1941 ethnic Germans with their ambig-

24. On recent discussions of the "gardening" state, see Zygmunt Bauman, *Modernity and the Holocaust* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2000); and Amir Weiner, ed., *Landscaping the Human Garden: Twentieth-Century Population Management in a Comparative Framework* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003).

25. On the growing importance of the category of nationality in the repressive policies of the Communist regime in the 1930s and 1940s, see Terry Martin, "The Origins of Soviet Ethnic Cleansing," *Journal of Modern History* 70, no. 4 (1998): 813–61; Amir Weiner, "Nature, Nurture, and Memory in a Socialist Utopia: Delineating the Soviet Socio-Ethnic Body in the Age of Socialism," *The American Historical Review* 104, no. 4 (1999): 1114–55.

26. Harrii Zubris, "Ne zaroslo travoiu zabuttia: Pamiati akusherky Sadlii," *Naddniprianska pravda*, 21 September 1995.

27. Meir Buchsweiler, *Volksdeutsche in der Ukraine am Vorabend und Beginn des Zweiten Weltkriegs: Ein Fall Doppelter Loyalität?* (Stuttgart: Bleicher Verlag, 1984), 277.

ous identities and suspected loyalties became victims of a resurgent conspiracy paranoia that was characteristic of the preceding decades.

An employee of one of the Kherson hospitals, Aleinikov, in a conversation with Ianina Sadlii in August 1941, described the fate of the *Volksdeutsche* pharmacist Specht: "They would not take *you* [into the army] because of your nationality, but they did take him, to the NKVD."²⁸ The Soviet punitive organs made some isolated arrests but, because of the rapid German advance, they could not carry out a coordinated deportation of the *Volksdeutsche* settlements deep into Soviet-held territory, as they would do in areas lying further east.²⁹ It is not at all clear how pro-Nazi Ukraine's *Volksdeutsche* actually were in summer 1941 and how well grounded the Soviet accusations of disloyalty were at the time. One of the most distinguished historians of ethnic Germans in the USSR has argued that above all else the attitudes of ethnic Germans in this period were structured by fear of the largely hostile local population and the potential reprisals of the NKVD.³⁰ Seen from this perspective, the welcome³¹ that the Wehrmacht received in many ethnic German settlements expressed a sense of deliverance from danger and the rejection of the Soviet order, rather than a positive embrace of Nazism of which the *Volksdeutsche* doubtless had a very limited knowledge in August and September 1941.³²

28. Zubris, "Ne zaroslo travoiu zabuttia."

29. The resolution of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR to this effect appeared only on 28 August 1941. According to M. Buchsweiler, by this time the Wehrmacht units had already occupied the territory on which from seventy-five to eighty percent of the *Volksdeutsche* lived before the war. This area included the city of Kherson and large German settlements in the Beryslav Raion (Buchsweiler, *Volksdeutsche in der Ukraine*, 280). In January 1942, between 8,000 and 9,000 ethnic Germans lived in the five raions of right-bank Kherson Oblast (DAKhO, fond r-1824, list 1, file 37, fol. 11).

30. For a detailed account of the German question in the Soviet Union before the Second World War, see also Ingeborg Fleischhauer, Benjamin Pinkus, and Edith Frankel, *The Soviet Germans: Past and Present* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1986).

31. DAKhO, fond r-3497, list 1, file 4, fol. 23.

32. This, of course, does not mean that some of the ethnic Germans did not later rediscover their seemingly long-lost Germanness and enjoy the benefits that it offered. Valentina Zamiralova (Hubenko) in her interview with me mentioned the Russophone *Volksdeutsche* policeman in Kherson who used to boast about his rediscovered German identity: "I have always known that I have a German heart," a comment that would repeatedly cause a storm of indignation among his Ukrainian and Russian women neighbours. One of them once resorted to a most grotesque way of expressing her anger:

Events other than the limited arrests of *Volksdeutsche* were more important in determining political loyalties in Kherson in the first months of the war. Unlike many large Ukrainian cities such as Kyiv and Odesa, Kherson maintained a semblance of peaceful existence and patriotic unity into the second month of the war. In mid-July, however, the picture began to change rapidly as hundreds of civilian refugees from Bessarabia (now part of Moldova) and the western parts of Ukraine, as well as streams of Red Army wounded, reached the city. Soon German planes paid their first visit to Kherson, bombing the port and the industrial installations. This resulted in the first civilian casualties and heightened the population's sense of insecurity.³³ A Komsomol member, Muza Kovaleva, a volunteer nurse and a refugee from Bessarabia, recalled Kherson in early August 1941:

The city was already living a nervous chaotic life. Everywhere one observed haste and confusion, more and more wounded people, crowds of evacuees. Our group was ordered to unload the steamboat "Kotovsky," which brought a large number of wounded military from Odesa. We were expecting the arrival of the boat... Soon the boat came around. The lightly wounded soldiers on the deck were joking, "Look they are giving us a welcome, and the only problem [hinting at the girls' fragility] is lack of strength." But we were not any worse than the male nurses. The whole station and port were full of the wounded. Suddenly an alarm went off; soon we heard the roar of the planes. Everybody started to run, but the planes headed towards Crimea. Groans and suffering all around. There was a young soldier complaining about a pain in the leg that had already been amputated. Next to him lay an elderly soldier, suffering from a head wound. He was light-headed,

she leaned forward, raised her skirt, and exposing her naked buttocks, exclaiming "That's where your German heart is." Also one should not overlook the positive image of Nazi Germany in some *Volksdeutsche* settlements of southern Ukraine going back to the early 1930s. As suggested by some sources, in 1932–33 when famine devastated Ukrainian villages, Nazi Germany was the only foreign power that acknowledged the fact of the famine and extended food assistance to the starving Soviet Germans. Some colonists, however, concerned with potential reprisals, declined this assistance. See Vasyly Marochko "Holodomor v Ukraini: Prychyny i naslidky (1932–1933)," *Osvita*, no. 21 (1993): 3–9; and Buchsweiler, *Volksdeutsche in der Ukraine*, 222–32.

33. DAKhO, fond p-3562, list 2, file 32, fol. 100. Valentina Zamiralova (Hubenko) recalled her woman neighbour named Hladyr, who was killed by a German bomb as she was walking to the grocery store (Interview with Valentina Zamiralova (Hubenko), Kherson, 9 September 2003).

calling his Halia, begging her to lock up the cow or else it would walk away, and then he began calling his children.³⁴

The appearance of these first victims of the war was significant at least in one respect. More than anything else casualties of German air raids, refugees from the western oblasts and the scores of wounded military brought home the idea that the war was very close, indeed, closer than the Soviet newspapers or the upbeat Soviet Informburo reports suggested. The already uncomfortable apprehension of the possible foreign occupation must have been accentuated by refugees fleeing from Romanian-occupied Bessarabia who, almost certainly, brought with them stories of atrocities by the Einsatzgruppe D and the Romanian security police against the Jews and Communists.³⁵ Combined with Soviet reports about Nazi war crimes,³⁶ this information for the first time confronted both the Soviet functionaries and the population at large with a dilemma that soldiers and civilians in the western oblasts had faced for some time: how to reconcile the natural instinct of self-preservation with the acquired sense of Soviet identity, which demanded action in defense of the Soviet state. The only way in which the two impulses could be reconciled seemed to lie in evacuation.³⁷

34. DAKhO, fond p-3562, list 2, file 32, fol. 102.

35. For a general overview of the Einsatzgruppe D activities during the war, see Andrej Angrick, "Die Einsatzgruppe D," in *Die Einsatzgruppen in der besetzten Sowjetunion 1941/42: Die Tätigkeits- und Lageberichte des Chefs der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD*, ed. Peter Klein (Berlin: Hentrich Edition, 1997), 88–110.

36. For a more detailed account of the impact of Soviet atrocities stories on the indigenous population, see Mordechai Altshuler, "Escape and Evacuation of Soviet Jews at the time of the Nazi Invasion" in *The Holocaust in the Soviet Union: Studies and Sources on the Destruction of the Jews in the Nazi-Occupied Territories of the USSR, 1941–1945*, ed. L. Dobroczycski and J. Gurock (Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, 1993), 77–104.

37. Some scholars in Ukraine have argued that before the arrival of the refugees from Bessarabia the Jews in southern Ukraine did not seriously contemplate evacuation to the east. This implies that non-Jews had even less incentive to leave their homes. See Shaikin and Ziabko, "Natsistskii genotsid," 155. I agree with the authors and do not find such attitudes of the civilian population surprising given the extremely low level of its awareness of the situation at the front. At a time when even military commanders on the ground frequently relied on overly optimistic official reports to assess the military situation, the belief of patriotic civilians in the Red Army's ultimate invincibility, which made the evacuation unnecessary, seems reasonable. Mykola Pavlovsky, who in 1941 resided in the raion centre Velyka Lepetykha, told me that with the benefit of hindsight they did not really know what was going on. He also mentioned that the political officer

The conventional view of the evacuation in summer 1941 is that it was a success: in a very short period of time the Soviets moved much of their industrial potential to the east and this made the eventual Soviet victory possible.³⁸ The problem with this interpretation of the Soviet evacuation policy, as Mordechai Altshuler pointed out, is that it concentrates almost exclusively on industrial relocation, which indeed was quite successful, and conspicuously ignores the authorities' remarkable failure to evacuate the population, particularly Jews and rank-and-file Communists, from the areas that would soon be occupied.³⁹ Let us take a closer look at the organized evacuation and the spontaneous efforts to flee from Kherson Oblast in summer 1941.

By early August the situation on the front's Southern Sector became considerably worse for the Red Army. Units of the Eleventh German Army, supported by two Romanian armies and a Hungarian corps managed to drive a wedge between the Soviet Ninth and Maritime Armies, forcing the former to beat a hasty retreat towards Mykolaiv and pushing the latter towards Odesa. The situation became desperate as Odesa came under siege on 8 August, and the Ninth Army was encircled near Mykolaiv on the 13 and was barely able to break out two days later at the cost of serious casualties.⁴⁰ In view of the extremely dangerous situation at the front and increased pressure from the incoming streams of retreating army units and civilian refugees, the Mykolaiv Oblast Committee belatedly, on 5 August, set up an oblast evacuation commission.⁴¹ In the next few days evacuation commissions began to work in

of the Red Army unit stationed in their village came to Pavlovsky's parents' house to listen to radio reports about the situation at the front (Interview with Mykola Andriiovych Pavlovsky, Verkhni Rohachyk, Kherson Oblast, 11 September 2003).

38. According to John Barber and Mark Harrison, "The results of the industrial evacuation were of critical importance for success of the Soviet war effort. It supplied the Red Army with the essential means of survival in the winter of 1941, without which nothing could have been done" (*The Soviet Home Front 1941-1945: A Social and Economic History of the USSR in World War II* [London and New York: Longman, 1991], 131).

39. Altshuler, "Escape and Evacuation," 78.

40. According to the report of General Malinovsky, at the time commander of the Forty-eighth Rifle Corps of the Ninth Army, as of 19 August 1941 some regiments under his command numbered between 100 and 150 soldiers (DAKhO, fond p-3562, list 3, file 18, fol. 22). See also Nikolai Fokin et al., eds., *Istoriia Velikoi otechestvennoi voiny Sovetskogo Soiuz 1941-1945* (Moscow: Voenizdat, 1961), 2: 103.

41. Shaikin and Ziabko, "Natsistskii genotsid," 155.

raion centres, at plants, and other big enterprises. One of the major enterprises in Kherson that the Soviet authorities attempted to evacuate was the Petrovsky Plant, which produced agricultural machinery and electric engines before 1940 and then increasingly turned to the production of military equipment and armaments such as air bombs and hand grenades, which were shipped immediately to army units.⁴² Under the circumstances the industrial relocation and evacuation proceeded successfully. According to A. Gusakov, a worker at the plant and a participant in the destruction battalion, by 13 August most of the equipment of the Petrovsky Plant and other large enterprises was disassembled and, despite the extreme shortage of transportation, shipped with a considerable number of plant employees and their family members to the rear.⁴³ The question arises: why did the Soviets manage to relocate the industrial enterprises but not much of the valuable workforce to the east? The available evidence suggests that the Soviet evacuation failures resulted from a fairly complex interplay of objective limitations, such as time constraints and the transportation deficit, and subjective factors, such as the reluctance of many civilians to evacuate.

The lack of trucks and freight trains forced local evacuation commissions to divide potential evacuees according to their importance for the overall war effort. Naturally, the leading party and state functionaries and managers of certain enterprises and their families were given priority. They were followed by skilled workers, who were evacuated usually with their enterprises. All other categories of civilians not affiliated with important industries, including rank-and-file Communists and Jews, were low on the evacuation hierarchy. Anyone whose enterprise was not evacuated found it difficult to obtain an evacuation document, which guaranteed a place on a train or a truck.⁴⁴ In some cases civilians even of the lowest category got away thanks to the initiative of local leaders and the cooperation of army officers,⁴⁵ but such cases were exceptions that prove the rule.

42. DAKhO, fond r-3562, list 2, file 47, fols. 1–2.

43. *Ibid.*, fols. 3–4.

44. DAKhO, fond r-3497, list 1, file 27, fol. 11.

45. Bibe, a kolkhoz chairman from the Jewish Autonomous Raion of Kalinindorf, managed to negotiate the use of an army unit's bridging equipment with its commander. This enabled the members of his kolkhoz to cross the Dnieper and escape death (Shaikin and Ziabko, "Natsistskii genotsid," 157).

In analyzing the evacuation effort one must also take into account the widespread unwillingness of people to leave their homes. Some people, including loyal Soviet citizens and Jews, believed that the dangers on the road far outweighed the risk of living under German rule. Ianina Sadlii, who was acquainted with a number of Jewish doctors at one of Kherson's better hospitals, explained why some of them chose to stay behind:

Kogan thought the Germans would not touch him. He had studied in Germany and knew the language well. Two of his brothers were shot in 1937 as "German spies." I still can't understand how they did not shoot Kogan himself. He cursed the Soviet authorities everywhere he went. Baumholz's daughter-in-law was in the ninth month of pregnancy. They were afraid to start on the road, and Baumholz did not believe the Germans would start shooting Jews. In addition, their daughter-in-law was Russian. Polina Aizenshtock was poor, but a beauty. I don't understand why they did not draft her into the army hospital, for they did take Jews, unlike Poles and Germans. She must have stayed because of her old and blind mother. Khasin did not go because he was almost eighty years old. Sara Abramovna Iudkevich was persuaded to stay by her Russian husband, a lawyer, whose favourite saying was "Vodka in the pail and money in the pocket make a man strong."⁴⁶

Others were prevented from leaving by accidental circumstances. Mariia Bohatska's family was supposed to evacuate together with the Komintern Shipyards, where her father worked, but shortly before their departure time Mariia's mother became seriously ill and they all had to stay.⁴⁷ In August 1941 the mostly Jewish members of the Kirov Kolkhoz from Kalinindorf reached the Dnieper near the village of Kachkarivka (Beryslav Raion) and found that the ferry had been destroyed. They encamped five kilometers from Beryslav while their kolkhoz chairman, Leib Barendorf, went towards Kherson in search of some means to cross the river. Left without leadership under the burning sun for three days, the people began to panic. Some "optimists" eventually convinced them that simple *kolkhozniks* had nothing to fear from the Germans and they returned home.⁴⁸

German propaganda may have played a role in some decisions to stay put. According to Etia Shatnaia's testimony, her father left the village

46. Zubris, "Ne zaroslo travoiu zabuttia."

47. DAKhO, fond r-3497, list 1, file 27, fol. 7.

48. Shaikin and Ziabko, "Natsistskii genotsid," 158.

Lenindorf, now in Tsiurupynsk Raion, and took care of its cattle. The family followed him in ox-drawn carts and helped him drive the cattle. "In the village Kakhivshchyna we met Red Army soldiers who said 'Why are you still driving the cattle? Save your life! The German planes dropped us leaflets stating "Peasants, surrender! Stalin's older son Iakov has surrendered. We do not harm anyone except Jews and Communists."' We kept going, but some peasants returned. Among them were Jews, who later perished."⁴⁹ Thus, because of transportation difficulties, individual choices based on poor information about German goals and the military situation, and pure accidents, thousands of potential victims of Nazism, including Communists and Jews, did not evacuate from the oblast.⁵⁰

All coordinated evacuation of Kherson enterprises and civilian population came to a halt on August 13. That day the battered and demoralized soldiers of the Ninth Army, retreating from Mykolaiv, reached the Dnieper at Kherson and Beryslav and, abandoning their equipment and wounded comrades and spreading panic, streamed across the river.⁵¹ Georgii Tsedrik, whose unit withdrew from Mykolaiv sometime after 12 August, described the condition of his battalion as it retreated through Kherson Oblast:

We did not have any plan of retreat. At first we were moving towards Znamianka, then towards Henichesk and Berdiansk. We ate what *kolkhozniks* gave us. The soldiers were a motley crew that did not have a common uniform. The weapons also were different. Some had Polish or German rifles; there were a few Polish machine guns. Half of the soldiers received requisitioned bikes. German planes never tired of bombing our unit. The permanent retreat undermined morale. Cases of desertion began to increase.⁵²

49. *Evreiskie vesti*, 22 November 1993. The text of the German propaganda leaflet drawing on Stalin's son's experience can be found in Buchbender, *Das Tönende Erz*, 65–71.

50. Documents found in the mass grave near the village Zelenivka, ten km east of Kherson, point to a large number of Jewish refugees from Bessarabia and Western Ukraine (DAKhO, fond r-1479, list 1, file 118, fols. 5–7). On the other hand, the lists compiled by the auxiliary administration in the Kherson countryside indicate that we are dealing with hundreds of rank-and-file Communists and Komsomol members who came under the German occupation (DAKhO, fond r-1501, list 3, file 10, fol. 100; DAKhO, fond r-1520, list 35, file 1, fols. 138–9).

51. "From the Report on the Military Operations of the Danube Flotilla," *Trybuna*, 9–15 August 1991.

52. DAKhO, fond p-3562, list 2, file 53, fols. 11–12.

While desertion became common, it was only one form of "disengagement" by which Soviet soldiers expressed their unwillingness to continue fighting. Other forms of disengagement were voluntary surrender and abandoning any effort to reunite with the Red Army after being separated in battle.

Some authors interpreted such disengagement as a sign of disloyalty to the Soviet state. The problem with this interpretation is that it uncritically links desertion or voluntary surrender with past events, such as collectivization, famine, and purges, that supposedly had turned Soviet citizens against the state even before they had become soldiers.⁵³ Although there may be some truth to this assumption, we do not know enough about the views of Soviet soldiers on their recent past at the outbreak of the German-Soviet war. Some Red Army soldiers, including those of Ukrainian origin, undoubtedly harboured past grievances, but it is not at all clear that these grievances were construed in anti-Soviet terms before German propaganda reached the population. Nor is it certain that such grievances by themselves were a sufficient reason for withdrawing from the fighting. Let us examine the actions of a number of Soviet soldiers who for a variety of reasons decided not to continue fighting. Of particular interest is what deserters and stragglers did once they found themselves separated from their units and what their actions tell us about the direction in which the attitudes of a section of the Soviet polity were changing at the time.

The available data indicate that the disloyalty interpretation requires at least some qualifications. It is true that some soldiers who crossed over to the German side were children of dekulakized peasants and indeed may have felt little commitment to the Soviet state. Here the case of the kulak son, Ivan Avramenko, born in 1910, is instructive. Shortly after he was mobilized into the army, Avramenko engineered a desertion conspiracy involving six soldiers. They abandoned the truck driven by Avramenko and rushed over the frontline into German captivity.⁵⁴ The experience

53. See Reese, *Stalin's Reluctant Soldiers*, 203–4; and Berkhoff, *Harvest of Despair*, 12–13.

54. DAKhO, fond r-1520, list 35, file 1, fol. 85; In January 1943. Ivan Avramenko joined the reserve police in his native Chulakivka. His fate resembles that of many adult men in the area. Immediately upon the return of the Red Army to Hola Prystan Raion in November 1943, Avramenko, who had somehow evaded evacuation to Germany, was mobilized. He died in action a month later, on 16 December 1943, and is buried in the

of the Soviet deserter Hryhorii Katiushenko from the village of Tiahynka, Beryslav Raion, differed only in the final destination of his journey. Unlike Avramenko's group, which soon returned to farm work in its native area, Katiushenko chose to become a *HiWi*⁵⁵ truck driver and died in action in Rostov-on-Don in August 1942.⁵⁶

But what about deserters who can hardly be categorized as disadvantaged by the Soviet state? Ivan Kozlenko, a former kolkhoz bookkeeper, gave himself up to the Germans in September 1941?⁵⁷ Similarly A. Naumov did not suggest that his decision to desert was motivated by hostility to the Soviet system, although such a suggestion would have been advantageous in his situation.⁵⁸ Above all his actions were driven by fear, as he honestly acknowledged. On 10 September, as his unit was retreating towards the village of Rybalche in Hola Prystan Raion, the carburetor of his truck broke down. He was left behind to fix it and was ordered to rejoin his unit as soon as possible. Unable to fix it promptly, Naumov abandoned the vehicle to avoid capture by the Germans. He moved from village to village, hiding from Red Army units in fear of being punished for abandoning the truck.⁵⁹

An analysis of the available sources suggests that Naumov's experience was quite common. While a few soldiers who were separated from their units crossed over to the German side, many more tried to avoid German captivity by exchanging their uniforms for civilian clothes and heading home.⁶⁰ This survival strategy resembles the actions of a

village of Dnipriany, Kakhovka Raion. See *Kniga Pamiaty Ukrainy: Khersonskaia oblast* (Simferopol: Tavrida, 1994), 3: 360.

55. *HiWi* (from German *Hilfswillige*), a volunteer with the German armed forces who usually performed non-combat assignments such as truck-driving and cooking.

56. DAKhO, fond r-1824, list 1, file 30, fol. 65.

57. DAKhO, fond r-1501, list 3, file 10, fol. 57.

58. In summer 1942 Naumov was apprehended by the German gendarmes as a non-local resident and had to explain how he arrived in the village. The information above is based on this account.

59. DAKhO, fond r-1520, list 35, file 1, fol. 64.

60. When his unit got encircled in September 1941, Iakiv Sadovy, born in 1915, abandoned his truck and weapons and went home (DAKhO, fond r-1520, list 35, file 1, fol. 91). In January 1942 in the village of Ushkalka, now in Verkhni Rohachyk Raion, the native police carried out a series of raids on the houses of the villagers. As a result they were able to confiscate quite a few military uniforms that the peasants doubtless acquired from Red Army deserters or stragglers (DAKhO, fond r-1633, list 1, file 1, fols. 63–7). Interestingly enough, the German leaflets called on the Soviet deserters to keep

formerly patriotic straggler, Georgii Tsedrik. As I have mentioned above, he took great pains to join the Red Army in summer 1941. In October Tsedrik's unit was shredded to pieces at the village of Andriivka, Zaporizhzhia Oblast. The wounded Tsedrik had several options: to surrender to the Germans, to try to rejoin the Red Army,⁶¹ or to return home. He chose the third path: he stopped at a village, exchanged his uniform for peasant clothes, and headed home to Kherson, where he arrived in early November.⁶²

The fact that at least some people who dropped out of the further struggle were unmistakably Soviet patriots early in the war suggests that their decision to do so was based on factors other than disloyalty to the Soviet government. Among such factors were the frightening battle experiences that dampened their patriotic enthusiasm, German propaganda

their military uniforms on, while it is quite possible that the soldiers were instructed by their officers and political instructors to disguise themselves as civilians if they were left behind. See Buchbender, *Das Tönende Erz*, 67.

61. Some stragglers did attempt to reunite with the Red Army units. In October 1941 Andrii Pavlovsky, a Communist from the village of Velyka Lepetykha, and his brother-in-law Karpo Pylypenko, a partisan in Reznichenko's partisan detachment, which was active in the forested areas along the Dnieper, broke out of the encirclement by the 444th Security Brigade. Pylypenko decided to return home to Verkhni Rohachyk, where he was detained by the native police as soon as he returned. Pavlovsky resolved to rejoin the Red Army and succeeded in this. He died in action in Belgorod Oblast in summer 1942. Pavlovsky's son Mykola learned these details from his father's letters, which he received from a fellow Lepetykha resident, Mykhailo Astukevych in 1944, more than two years after his father's death. During his evacuation Astukevych ran into Sergeant Pavlovsky at a train station shortly before the latter's death (Interview with Mykola Andriiovych Pavlovsky, Verkhni Rohachyk, Kherson Oblast, 11 September 2003).

62. Here is what Tsedrik wrote about his last battle: "The German parachutists cut us off from our forces, and the tanks completed the encirclement movement. Soon the airplanes started attacking us. An almost defenseless unit got trapped. The battalion commander Oksman shot himself, whilst the commissar Rosenburd jumped on his horse and abandoned the soldiers. I saw soldiers shooting at him as he was galloping away. The company commanders and political officers disappeared without a trace. Chaos and panic broke out. I attempted to lead some soldiers in a breakthrough, but got hit by an explosive wave and lost consciousness. I opened my eyes three days later in a barn. All the doctors and even nurses were gone. Many soldiers died from wounds, while others had maggots swarming in their wounds. Andriivka remained unoccupied by either side as yet. Some women brought us water and food and told us that on the other side of the village the Germans had organized a camp. On the same day I and two other soldiers left. Having exchanged my new uniform for peasant rags, I walked towards Kherson. I arrived there on 3 November 1941" (DAKHO, fond p-3562, list 2, file 53, fol. 12).

that stressed the inevitable defeat of the Soviet forces, and the proximity of their native region, where they could find shelter with relatives. The significance of the last factor is frequently overlooked in the literature.⁶³

I am not going to argue that desertion was overwhelming, although it was quite high.⁶⁴ Certainly, most Red Army soldiers continued to fight to the best of their ability. The significance of the deserters is not in their numbers but in the fact that, unlike the fighting soldiers, they were representative of civilians who found themselves on occupied territory. Like the rest of the population, many of them had been loyal or at least conforming Soviet citizens who became overwhelmed by the war and concerned with personal survival. A few of them sought a *modus vivendi* with the occupation forces in collaboration; others became completely disillusioned and for a while showed no inclination to identify with either side.

While civilians and to a lesser extent conscripted men in the field had some room for maneuver and sometimes had several options, Soviet functionaries had only one choice—to flee. Early in the morning of 14 August they fled for their lives from panic-stricken Kherson, abandoning all the civilians who were willing to evacuate.⁶⁵ The fleeing heads of several enterprises picked up and appropriated their employees' sal-

63. Vsevolod Osten, who in 1941 fought in Zaporizhzhia Oblast just north of my area of study, provided a very vivid and perceptive account of desertion and the role of civilians in it. See his *Vstan nad boliu svoei* (Moscow: Sovetskii pisatel, 1989), 138–40. The uncle of my grandmother, Ivan Maistrenko, a junior political officer in a Red Army unit in 1941, came home in the fall. Being a Communist he had to hide in a hide-out in the nearby forest. My great-grandmother secretly brought him food. He remained in hiding to the last day of the German occupation (Interview with Nadiia Melnyk [Lytvynova], Verkhni Rohachyk, Kherson Oblast, 13 August 2003).

64. Throughout 1942 the Ukrainian *upravy* compiled lists of POWs working in the agricultural communities. It is easy to determine the deserters and stragglers on these lists, even though they are not marked. The POWs that the Germans released from the camps usually had POW documents stating the date and site of their imprisonment, the number of the POW camp, and the date of release. The papers were required to register with the *upravy*. As a rule deserters and stragglers lacked such documents. On the basis of several lists, one can conclude that by 1942 in some villages of the Kherson Oblast more than twenty percent of locals officially classified as POWs had never been in a POW camp. In the village of Kostohryzovo, Tsiurupynsk Raion, for example, out of fifty former POWs seventeen are explicitly called deserters (DAKhO, fond r-1520, list 13, file 9, fols. 38–40).

65. Boris Vadon, *Okkupatsiia Khersona, 1941–1944* (unpublished manuscript in the Kherson Oblast Library, 1993), 1.

aries.⁶⁶ Before it withdrew to Tsiurupynsk in the afternoon, the destruction battalion carried out a series of scorched-earth operations⁶⁷: it set fire to the Tissin Mill near the Pankratiev Bridge, leaving the remaining city residents without bread.

The newly emerging identity of civilians diverged increasingly from the Soviet ideal, as the people left behind by the Soviet authorities tried to counteract the scorched-earth policy to ensure their own survival. After a diversionary group dumped grain from a giant elevator into the Dnieper, residents of the Military Suburb⁶⁸ and the adjacent streets reached the site in boats and scooped up the swollen grain from the water. Elsewhere civilians rushed into burning buildings to save foodstuffs.⁶⁹

In contrast to some other parts of Eastern Europe, there were no anti-Jewish pogroms in Kherson and in the region either during the departure of the Soviet authorities or the arrival of the Germans.⁷⁰ The main concern of the Khersonians at the time was personal survival. The ungoverned city was gripped with panic and the fear of famine, fed likely by the memory of the hungry 1930s.⁷¹

66. DAKhO, fond p-3562, list 2, file 53, fol. 11–12; Vadon, *Okkupatsiia Khersona*, 1; also Berkhoff, *Harvest of Despair*, 24.

67. The best known order to implement the scorched-earth policy was issued by the Communist Party and the Council of People's Commissars on 29 June 1941. See John Erickson, *The Road to Stalingrad* (New York: Harper and Row, 1975), 138.

68. A historical part of Kherson known locally as Voenka.

69. Vadon, *Okkupatsiia Khersona*, 1.

70. The only incident of anti-Jewish violence that I have found, occurred in Berezhnevata Raion in today's Mykolaiv Oblast, where a group of people tied the rabbi to the tail of a horse and dragged him through the streets. Outrageous as it was, this incident can hardly merit the definition of a pogrom (Shaikin and Ziabko, "Natsistskii genotsid," 159). For a discussion of pogroms in Galicia and the Baltic countries in summer 1941, see Jan T. Gross, *Neighbours: The Destruction of the Jewish Community in Jedwabne, Poland* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001; Shimon Redlich, *Together and Apart in Brzezany: Poles, Jews, and Ukrainians, 1919–1945* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002), 100–4; Dieter Pohl, *Nationalsozialistische Judenverfolgung in Ostgalizien 1941–1944: Organisation und Durchführung eines staatlichen Massenverbrechens* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1996), 54–67; Knut Stang, "Hilfspolizisten und Soldaten: Das 2/12 litauische Schutzmannschaftsbataillon in Kaunas und Weißrußland," in *Wehrmacht: Mythos und Realität*, ed. R.-D. Müller and H.-E. Volkmann (Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1999), 858–78; and Ernst Klee, Willi Dressen, and Volker Riess, eds., *"The Good Old Days": The Holocaust as Seen by Its Perpetrators and Bystanders* (New York: Free Press, 1991), 23–58.

71. Vadon, *Okkupatsiia Khersona*, 1; Interview with Valentina Zamiralova (Hubenko),

The panicky people rushed to the food stores and bakeries. They broke windows and doors, leaving a big mess. They carted and wheelbarrowed away sacks of flour that had not quite burned to ashes. They looted canned goods, butter, sugar, and surrogates from the canning factory. They "cleaned out" the macaroni factory and the Voikov Candy Factory, city kitchens and confectioneries, and other food establishments.⁷²

The author of this account confessed that he regretted being unable to participate in operation "Food," because a few days earlier the City Military Board had hospitalized him for hernia surgery.⁷³

The diversionists themselves, some of whom had not managed to evacuate their families, did not escape the panic. A Ukrainian Communist Mykola Hubenko, a member of the destruction battalion and a worker at the Stalin Storage Factory in Kherson, was ordered to destroy the remaining produce to keep it out of enemy hands. He fulfilled the order only partially, after first ensuring that his family had enough food.⁷⁴ Not only foodstuffs were looted. Some Khersonians had a great thirst for alcohol:

A crowd of Bacchus worshippers made it to the wine factory, which was located in the former governor's mansion (the building was destroyed during the war). Breaking the locks, the mob rushed into the cellar. There, using axes and an iron rod, they demolished huge wine barrels. The wine poured onto the floor, reaching a depth of half a meter. Drunk, excited alcoholics paid no attention to this but continued to fill buckets, jars, and bottles. The wine reached up to their belts. Suddenly a fight broke out between the looters. As a result one of the "drunken heroes" drowned right in the cellar. I learned about it from a witness of the scuffle.⁷⁵

Kherson, 9 September 2003.

72. Vadon, *Okkupatsiia Khersona*, 2. The looting is also mentioned in a report about the activities of the Danube Flotilla, which condemns it and places the major blame on the NKVD and party functionaries who fled and allowed a "reign of anarchy" to descend upon the city (*Trybuna*, 9–15 August 1991). See also a memoir by Konstantin Balakirev, the military commandant of Kherson between 15 and 19 August 1941, in *Trybuna*, 9–15 August 1991, and at DAKhO, fond p-3562, list 3, file 44, fols. 80–1.

73. Vadon, *Okkupatsiia Khersona*, 2.

74. According to Hubenko's daughter, Valentina Zamiralova, during the interregnum they managed to store so much sugar and all sorts of canned goods that her mother did not have to work during the occupation. Instead, using the hoarded sugar, she brewed moonshine, which she exchanged for food (Interview with Valentina Zamiralova [Hubenko], Kherson, 9 September 2003).

75. Vadon *Okkupatsiia Khersona*, 2.

The interregnum ended next day, as naval officer Konstantin Balakirev arrived in the city from Mykolaiv at the head of a marine task force to ensure an orderly transfer of abandoned armaments and equipment to the left bank of the Dnieper and to organize the defense of the city.⁷⁶ As we learn from the official report of the NKVD representative in the Danube Flotilla, Balakirev deployed his disciplined troops in various sectors of the city and quickly established order by shooting some twenty "marauders."⁷⁷ By "marauders" the NKVD officer no doubt meant ordinary Khersonians who were looting. Most certainly the executions did not involve previous trials.⁷⁸ The local party and Soviet functionaries who had fled the day before were "discovered" in Tsiurupynsk and brought back under guard to Kherson to perform their duties.⁷⁹ Several fighters in the destruction battalion indirectly corroborated this in testifying that the destruction battalion returned to the city, although they chose not to mention the role of Balakirev's marines in the process.⁸⁰ The upbeat tone of memoirs notwithstanding, the situation in Kherson at the time was very tense. All the major roads were filled with continuous streams of soldiers and civilians heading towards the Dnieper crossings. In the port crowding civilians tried to board boats for Tsiurupynsk and were pushed back by a chain of marines.⁸¹ To complete the confusion, the port came under periodic aerial bombardment.⁸²

Given the manpower under his command, it is hardly surprising that Balakirev was much less successful in organizing the defense of the city than in restoring order and implementing the scorched-earth policy. As he acknowledged, all his efforts to enlarge his task force with retreating Soviet soldiers fell flat: the demoralized and exhausted soldiers would not

76. DAKhO, fond p-3562, list 3, file 44, fols. 78–83. An abbreviated version of Balakirev's memoir was published under the title "Ia Balakirev Konstantin Mikhailovich," in *Trybuna*, 9–15 August 1991.

77. *Trybuna*, 9–15 August 1991.

78. According to Dementii Bely, who conducted a series of oral interviews, when the marines dumped sunflower oil from tanks at the railway station, some locals attempted to scoop the oil from the ground, but the marines opened fire on them ("Khersonskaia starina," *Nedvizhimost goroda*, 15–31 March 1997).

79. *Trybuna*, 9–15 August 1991.

80. DAKhO, fond p-3562, list 2, file 47, fol. 4; DAKhO, fond p-3562, list 2, file 39, fol. 6.

81. Bely, "Khersonskaia starina," 2.

82. DAKhO, fond p-3562, list 2, file 39, fol. 19.

remain in their defensive positions for long and joined the general stream moving eastward.⁸³ Curiously enough, even in this seemingly hopeless situation some Khersonians did not lose hope that the city would be saved from the German occupation. Vladimir Stepanov recalled:

Before the Germans entered the city all inhabitants of our apartment building were down in the basement, day and night. When we heard the artillery barrage from the right bank of the river and the roar of our planes, everybody was afraid, but I told my friend Boria Sukhorukov that I was not afraid and that the noise of battle meant that the Germans would not get through. But the Germans came.... I did not want to leave the basement. I wanted our side to increase its fire.⁸⁴

Following a day of skirmishes with the German advance formations in the northwestern outskirts of the city, Balakirev's marine company and units of the people's militia retreated to the left bank of the Dnieper. Last to leave was the destruction battalion, which rushed to destroy the state property that was still intact.⁸⁵ Several hours later, the Wehrmacht units occupied the city virtually unhindered.⁸⁶

Perhaps the most interesting question of the summer and fall events in 1941 is how did the local population react to the German soldiers. My research indicates that in this part of the country, except for a few predominantly *Volksdeutsche* villages, the Germans did not receive the hearty welcome accorded them in the Baltics and the formerly Polish eastern Galicia. The bulk of the native population met the Wehrmacht in a most restrained manner.⁸⁷ The rare cases of welcome were sometimes

83. DAKhO, fond p-3562, list 3, file 19, fol. 81; *Trybuna*, 9–15 August 1991.

84. DAKhO, fond r-3497, list 1, file 28, fol. 13.

85. A. Gusakov wrote after the war: "On orders from the City Committee of the Communist Party and the secretary of industry, Ie. Haiovy, I and a group of fighters were assigned the task of disassembling the remaining equipment [of the Petrovsky Plant] and destroying it. There was not much of it. In one section of the plant we found a number of fully built electrical engines ready for shipment. We did the job all right. As for the remaining hand grenades, we loaded them onto a platform and dumped them into the Dnieper to prevent them from falling into enemy hands. On 19 August, at 3–4 p.m. we again crossed the river into Tsiurupynsk, and a few hours later we learned that the Germans had occupied Kherson" (DAKhO, fond r-3562, list 2, file 47, fol. 4).

86. Vadon, *Okkupatsiia Khersona*, 1.

87. Ibid. Interview with Nadiia Melnyk (Lytvynova), Verkhni Rohachyk, Kherson Oblast, 13 August 2003. My conclusion contrasts sharply with Karel Berkhoff's, who argued that "most people in the villages and small towns of Dnieper Ukraine were glad to see the Germans" (Berkhoff, *Harvest of Despair*, 20).

fraught with danger for their unsuspecting initiators, since German soldiers were occasionally prone to violence. In Beryslav, the site of bitter three-day fighting in which the Wehrmacht units suffered comparatively high casualties, a local woman was seen running with bread and salt toward the German soldiers and shouting "Our dear liberators!" To a witness of the event it appeared that the troops wanted to shoot the woman, but changed their mind when they saw the bread. They took it and moved on.⁸⁸ In Kherson on 19 August a German soldier was seen walking down a street with a local boy by his side. The soldier said something that the boy did not understand. The German became angry and began to yell. A woman who understood German came to the youngster's rescue. It turned out that the soldier was lost and was asking directions.⁸⁹ Some civilians were less lucky. On 1 September, upon the arrival of German troops in Kakhovka, Nadiia Iakovenko was walking down the street with a baby in her arms. For unknown reasons a German soldier fired at her, instantly killing her and the child.⁹⁰

Most locals, however, preferred to avoid such early encounters. They withdrew to their cellars and houses and shut the windows.⁹¹ Some people acknowledged that they were afraid of the incoming Germans and did not venture outside for several days.⁹² Soviet propaganda stories and rumours of German atrocities spread by refugees from the western oblasts undoubtedly influenced local attitudes. Besides fear, the largely Soviet identity of the Khersonians did not allow them to welcome the enemy. But identification with the Soviet state suffered a tremendous blow when the Red Army withdrew from the region, and the remaining civilians were forced to come to grips with the reality of the Nazi occupation.

Some sections of the population displayed a certain curiosity mixed with fear, an attitude characteristic of children. A young Khersonian, O.

88. DAKhO, fond r-3497, list 1, file 1, fol. 70.

89. DAKhO, fond r-3497, list 1, file 27, fols. 7–8.

90. DAKhO, fond r-1479, list 1, file 118, fol. 52.

91. DAKhO, fond r-3497, list 1, file 25, fol. 8; DAKhO, fond r-3497, list 1, file 1, fol. 53; DAKhO, fond r-3497, list 1, file 27, fols. 24–5; DAKhO, fond r-3497, list 1, file 28, fol. 13. Nadiia Melnyk (Lytvynova) told me that her mother brought all the kids inside, when the Germans were spotted on the outskirts of the village. They were all lying in bed when two German soldiers stepped inside the house. Seeing people in bed, the Germans uttered the word "krank!" (sick) and quickly walked away (Interview with Nadiia Melnyk [Lytvynova], Verkhni Rohachyk, Kherson Oblast, 13 August 2003).

92. DAKhO, fond r-3497, list 1, file 25, fol. 8.

Borodavkin, wrote in 1944: "As the Germans were entering the city, we looked with curiosity through peepholes in the windows." Some of his neighbours even went outside to get a better look at the newcomers.⁹³ Yet, in the first days of the occupation interaction between the Germans and the locals was very limited, partly because of the locals' restraint and partly because of the Germans' wariness or arrogance. In the village Zelene (now in Verkhniï Rohachyk Raion), for example, the peasants invited some German officers who were observing a funeral to take part in the ritual and drink some vodka, but the Germans refused.⁹⁴

Aside from organizing locals for all sorts of labour, such as extinguishing fires and clearing streets of debris, food, and particularly poultry, requisitioning by Wehrmacht soldiers was the main field of interaction between the Germans and the indigenous population in this period. A. Golubova recalled:

Next day after the Germans captured the city, two German soldiers entered our house. They were wearing helmets, and had rifles and revolvers. I became scared. I thought they would kill us. Over my bed hung a small picture of Lenin. On seeing the portrait, one of the Germans burst out laughing, but at that moment he was distracted by the noise our hens were making in the yard. "Oh, gut!" he cried. Another German had already caught a hen. After that they left.⁹⁵

Such food raids could become violent if the locals, particularly the women, dared to resist or if the requisitions took place in an area of heavy combat. In Beryslav a group of German soldiers beat a woman before taking away her pig and chickens.⁹⁶ However, because not every local mentions requisitions in 1941 and because those who do mention them do so in the context of later policies, one should be careful not to overestimate their extent and significance for the

93. DAKhO, fond r-3497, list 1, file 26, fol. 22.

94. That was the funeral of my grandmother's grandfather Myna Maistrenko, who died in action on the same day the Germans arrived in the village. Earlier that day a Red Army reconnaissance unit had come to Zelene and asked the locals to show them the road to one of the neighbouring villages. The seventy-year-old Myna Maistrenko agreed to take them there. On the road the unit ran into a group of German scouts. In a brief skirmish, the old man and one of the Soviet soldiers were killed, while the rest delivered the body to the relatives in Zelene (Interview with Nadiia Melnyk [Lytyvnova], Verkhniï Rohachyk, Kherson Oblast, 13 August 2003).

95. DAKhO, fond r-3497, list 1, file 25, fol. 15.

96. DAKhO, fond r-3497, list 1, file 1, fol. 49.

relations between the locals and the occupation authorities in August and September 1941.⁹⁷

In conclusion, as Kherson Oblast was drawn increasingly into the war as a result of Soviet military setbacks, the patriotic enthusiasm of both civilians and soldiers that was characteristic of June and July began to wane. The question of personal survival assumed priority over the abstract notion of defending the Soviet motherland, which, under the impact of German propaganda, some sections of the population began to regard as a "Judeo-Communists" state. It was up to the individual to ensure his personal survival. Some Kherson Jews, Communists, and non-Communists loyal to the Soviet regime sought safety in evacuation or escape from the region, while others assumed, sometimes mistakenly, that they would be safer staying at home. Such options were not readily available to locals in the army. Some soldiers, unwilling to continue fighting for the Soviet cause deserted and crossed over to the German side, but many more simply returned home to their families.

By the time the Germans arrival in the region, the popular attitudes were as diverse as possible. Many *Volksdeutsche* and a small fraction of the indigenous population welcomed the Germans as "liberators" and later cooperated with the occupation authorities. A larger section of the people remained loyal to the Soviet state, albeit disorganized and demoralized by the Red Army's defeats. The rapid Soviet retreat from the region gave rise to a third group, characterized by atomization and an identity crisis. Soviet setbacks and German propaganda drew these people away from the Soviet vision but did not persuade them to accept full collaboration. This was the largest, most heterogeneous, and least studied group. The political aspirations of its members were never clearly articulated in fall 1941, and their postwar reminiscences shed no more light on the question, because of their later re-embrace of Soviet identity with its characteristic conception of wartime history.⁹⁸ The emerging social divisions were

97. Less common forms of cultural collision than food requisitioning and labour assignments in the first days of occupation were the expulsions of locals from their homes and the removal of civilians from combat areas, which foreshadowed the German policy in 1943–1944 (DAKhO, fond r-3497, list 1, file 1, fol. 49; DAKhO, fond r-3497, list 1, file 1, fol. 128). At least in one case in the first days of the occupation the German military authorities ordered the Ukrainian residents to leave the village of Kostyrka within twenty-four hours and settled *Volksdeutsche* in their homes (DAKhO, fond r-3497, list 1, file 1, fol. 36).

98. A good specimen of this group is Iakov Tkhorovsky. In summer 1941 he did not

encouraged and exploited by the German occupation authorities, acquiring paramount significance in the extermination of Communist functionaries, Soviet partisans, and Jews from fall 1941 onward, but that is another story.

evacuate from the area; instead after the arrival of the Germans he started a business of his own. Tkhorovsky's retail trade blossomed when the Red Army turned the tables and forced the Wehrmacht to retreat. In this situation Tkhorovsky accepted the proposal of the Communist underground to support the organization financially. In fact, he became a Soviet patriot in the process. Tkhorovsky's unpublished memoir is at DAKhO, fond p-3562, list 2, file 26, fols. 32-45.

Synopsis:

A Collection of Articles in Honour of Zenon E. Kohut

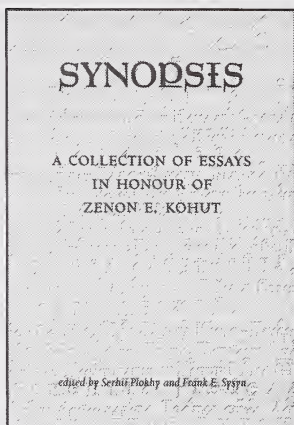
In *Synopsis*, twenty-two historians of Ukraine from five countries pay tribute to their friend and colleague, Dr. Zenon E. Kohut. The volume begins with an appraisal of Kohut's career, work, and impact on historical studies by the

Kharkiv historian Volodymyr Kravchenko and ends with a selected bibliography of Kohut's works. The contributions examine topics from the Middle Ages to the Soviet period. Especially well represented in the volume are studies in historiography, the early modern period, and Ukrainian-Russian relations.

When a Festschrift for Dr. Zenon E. Kohut, director of the Canadian Institute of the Ukrainian Studies, was being planned, *Synopsis* came quickly to mind as a title. Not only is Zenon Kohut currently working on the famous seventeenth-century work and its context, but the *Synopsis* stands at the onset of modern Ukrainian-Russian relations that have been the major theme of his scholarly oeuvre. From his groundbreaking work *Russian Centralism and Ukrainian Autonomy* through his numerous essays on forms of identity in early modern Ukraine and Russia to his analysis on historiography, he has chosen large topics and brought to them order and clarity.

Also published as a special issue of the *Journal of Ukrainian Studies* Volume 29, Numbers 1-2, the *Synopsis* can be purchased for \$44.95 (as a hardcover book edition) or \$28 (as a *JUS* issue).

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Notes towards an Intellectual Biography of Dmytro Chyzhevsky

Iryna Valyavko

Dmytro Ivanovych Chyzhevsky's (1894–1977) intellectual development, broad interests, and contributions to philosophy, the history of philosophy, linguistics, and Slavic studies cannot be fully covered in a short article. The best one can do is to summarize them under the major periods of his life.

Family Influence

The foundations of Chyzhevsky's intellectual development were laid early in life. As he noted in one of his autobiographies, "my parents' spiritual interests determined quite early my own aspirations."¹ His parents were exceptional individuals who devoted their considerable talents to the betterment of society. Chyzhevsky's father, Ivan Konstantynovych Chyzhevsky (1863–1923), was a Ukrainian nobleman, a former artillery officer who had belonged the revolutionary People's Will and had been imprisoned in the Peter and Paul Fortress and exiled to Vologda. His mother, Mariia Dmitrievna Ershova (?–1927), was a Russian merchant's daughter who had studied painting with Ilia Repin and Pavel Chistiakov. Ivan Konstantynovych owned a small estate in Oleksandriia county near the village of Sekretarivka. He was active in local politics as a deputy of the small landholders to the zemstvo and oversaw public schools and zemstvo hospitals. Mariia Dmitrievna taught art in an Oleksandriia school for many years and served as its trustee. She gave free art lessons to gifted children that she sought out. A number of her pupils eventually

1. *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 1, no. 3 (September 1977): 398–406.

graduated from the Academy of Arts in St. Petersburg.² She was also a member of the board of directors of the municipal library and devoted much effort to its development.

The parents devoted much time to their son Dmytro and his younger sister Mariia.³ The mother taught them drawing and art history. She initiated a family journal to which Dmytro, Mariia, and their friends contributed stories and reviews. Here is the source of Chyzhevsky's life-long interest in art and his writing ability. The father taught the children natural science: he introduced them to astronomy, supervised their building of plant and insect collections, and set up a library and a chemical laboratory for Dmytro and his friends. Ivan Konstantynovych was an expert astronomer: he belonged to the French Astronomical Society and the Russian Society of Cosmic Science and between 1914 and 1917 alone he published fourteen articles in astronomy journals. His father's scientific interest had a decisive influence on Dmytro's first selection of his university studies and his earliest publications.

His parents' populist and liberal convictions influenced Dmytro's political orientation. In 1910 he organized a secret discussion circle of senior students from the boys' and girls' gymnasiums, which met in his home. At his suggestion members greeted each other with the words "Let the house of the Romanovs perish!" As a university student he supplied the circle with illegal literature from St. Petersburg.

From his parents Dmytro inherited a love for the Russian and Ukrainian cultures. The language spoken at home was Russian, a customary practice at the turn of the century in the families of even nationally conscious Ukrainian intellectuals. But Dmytro was immersed also in the Ukrainian language and culture of the common people. Every summer the family spent over three months on its estate Sekretarivka, where he mingled with peasants. At night he listened to the watchman Roman's and the cook Odarka's stories about evil spirits. Here are the

2. Panas Fedenko, *Dmytro Chyzhevsky: Spomyn pro zhyttia i naukovu diialnist* (Munich: Nashe slovo, 1979), 10; Leonid Kutsenko, "Oleksandriia skytska v zhytti Nestora slavistiv," at <<http://www.library.kr.ua/elmuseum/chizhevsky/kutsenko.html>>; and N. Zhakhalova, "Rodovid ta herb Chyzhevskykh," *Vilne slovo* (Oleksandriia), 14 January 2004.

3. Mariia Chyzhevskia, *Zapysky Oblasnoi naukovoï biblioteky im. Dmytra Chyzhevskoho: Do storichchia zi dnia narodzhennia Dmytra Chyzhevskoho* (Kirovohrad: Gryf, 1994), 2–12.

roots of Chyzhevsky's fascination with mystical matters and his deep understanding of Gogol.

The family library contained Ukrainian literature, including an uncensored edition of *Kobzar*, which was very popular among the members of the student circle. In March 1911 the circle commemorated the fiftieth anniversary of Taras Shevchenko's death with several papers delivered in Ukrainian and Chyzhevsky's performance of Mykola Lysenko's piano compositions written to Shevchenko's verses. In 1912 Dmytro and his friend Panas Fedenko switched to Ukrainian in their correspondence and conversations.⁴ To some extent this was a protest against the State Duma's ban on Ukrainian-language instruction in public schools.

University Studies

In 1911, at his father's suggestion, Chyzhevsky enrolled in the Faculty of Physics and Mathematics of St. Petersburg University. However, he was interested not only in the natural sciences but also in the humanities. He attended lectures in philosophy and followed the debates between the Neo-Kantians, headed by Professor Aleksandr Vvedensky, and the intuitivists, represented by Nikolai Lossky. Eventually, he decided to change his specialty. In 1913 he left St. Petersburg for Kyiv, because the capital's damp, fluctuating climate affected his health. In Kyiv he enrolled in the Historical-Philological Faculty of St. Vladimir University. However, he remained interested in astronomy for the rest of his life, and it was in that field that he published his first scholarly articles: "K voprosu o psikhologii astronomicheskikh nabliudenii" (On the Question of the Psychology of Astronomical Observations) (1912), "Printsip otноситelnosti i astronomiia" (The Principle of Relativity and Astronomy) (1914), "K voprosu o vidimosti kanalov Marsa" (On the Question of the Visibility of the Canals on Mars) (1915), and "Planeta Iupiter za poslednie gody" (The Planet Jupiter in the Last Few Years) (1915).

In the first year Chyzhevsky enrolled in Volodymyr Peretts's famous seminar in Russian philology and delivered several well-received papers. His studies in Kyiv largely determined Chyzhevsky's pursuits in philosophy. He studied logic and psychology with Vasili Zenkovsky, one of Georgii Chelpanov's best students. Zenkovsky's seminar stimulated Chyzhevsky's interest in the history of philosophy. It was Zenkovsky who

4. Fedenko, *Dmytro Chyzhevsky*, 14.

turned Chyzhevsky's attention to thinkers such as Heorhii Skovoroda, Pamfil Iurkevych, Nikolai Gogol, and Fedor Dostoevsky and encouraged his research in mystical literature. These subjects remained at the centre of Chyzhevsky's interest throughout his life. Zenkovsky considered Chyzhevsky to be one of the most talented students. In his numerous letters to Chyzhevsky and in his *Istoriia russkoi filosofii* (A History of Russian Philosophy) (1948–50) and *N.V. Gogol* (1961) Zenkovsky gave high marks to Chyzhevsky's historical, philosophical, and literary studies, while Chyzhevsky often stressed his spiritual and personal closeness to Zenkovsky and made strenuous efforts to have his teacher's works translated into German.

Chyzhevsky also took Aleksei Giliarov's course in philosophy. A specialist in Greek philosophy, and particularly in Plato, Giliarov tried to reconcile the rational with the irrational, and this had an influence on Chyzhevsky's views. Chyzhevsky also took up Slavic philology and Indo-European studies. Among his linguistics professors were Wilhelm Wundt's talented student Friedrich Knauer, Oleksander Lukianenko, and Mykola Hrunsky.

Chyzhevsky graduated with honours in the fall of 1919, and in the following year he became an associate professor in the Department of General Linguistics at the Higher Courses for Women. In early 1921 he was offered a position in the Philosophy Department of the Institute of People's Education, as Kyiv University was called at the time. The political situation prevented him from teaching at either institution.⁵

Revolutionary Activity

During the Kyiv period Chyzhevsky devoted much energy to revolutionary activity. In 1913 he joined the Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party and took an active part in its work, distributing illegal literature, establishing contacts between various social-democratic circles, and promoting its educational programs. His activity did not go unnoticed by the secret police: in fall 1916 Chyzhevsky was arrested and incarcerated in Lukianovka Prison. Released after the February revolution, he immersed himself in party activity. He became the secretary of the Kyiv Soviet of Workers' Deputies (1917–18), a member of the party's first Central Executive Committee (1917), a participant in the unionist

5. V.V. Iantsen [Janzen], "Dmytro Chyzhevsky v Nimechchyni: Z arkhiviv Halle," *Filosofska i sotsiologichna dumka*, 1992, no. 12: 83–4.

movement, editor of the newspapers *Rabochaia zhizn* (1917–20) and *Nash golos* (1918–20). He worked at the Museum of Labour and frequently spoke at meetings. In 1918, as a representative of the Menshevik fraction, he was elected to the Central Rada and served in its executive body, the Little Rada. He was nominated minister of labour.⁶

In 1919 Chyzhevsky married Lidiia Izrailevna Marshak, who belonged to the Menshevik party. Their family life was disrupted by the Bolshevik occupation of Kyiv. Chyzhevsky spent most of his time in jail or prison camp.⁷ In 1918 by a lucky accident he escaped execution. In 1921 he was forced to flee the country, crossing the border illegally, first into Poland and then into Germany. He continued to be active in the Russian and then the German Social Democratic Workers' Party until 1924. After that he never joined a political party again.

Philosophical Studies in Germany

Chyzhevsky continued his philosophy studies in Germany. At first he attended Karl Jaspers's lectures in Heidelberg. Then in 1922 he moved to Freiburg im Breisgau to study with Edmund Husserl, whose works he had read back in Kyiv. To study with the founder of phenomenology was a dream come true for Chyzhevsky. Husserl took note of his exceptional student: recommending him for a lectureship in Slavic studies at Halle University in 1932, Husserl wrote that Chyzhevsky was an exceptionally well-grounded and independent-minded philosopher.⁸ Although he did not become a member of his school, Chyzhevsky was proud to have been Husserl's student. At the time a Hegelian renaissance, which began at the turn of the century, was taking place in Germany. It culminated in the publication of Richard Kroner's *Vom Kant bis Hegel* (From Kant to Hegel) (1921), which showed that Hegel's theory was not pure pan-logism, but a synthesis of logical and mystical elements. Chyzhevsky found congenial ideas in Kroner's historical and systematic studies.⁹

6. According to Chyzhevsky's various autobiographies, which are preserved in his archives in Halle and Heidelberg.

7. On this period, see V. Iantsen and I. Valiavko, "Vospominaniia D.I. Chizhevskogo o deiatelnosti menshevikov na Ukraine (1919–1920): Maloizvestnye stranitsy biografii uchenogo," *Die Welt der Slaven* 46 (2001): 155–76.

8. For Husserl's letter of recommendation, see Iantsen, "Dmytro Chyzhevsky v Nimechchyni," 86.

9. For Chyzhevsky's philosophy studies in Germany and on Kroner's influence on him, see Vasyi Rudko's unfinished article "Shliakh D. Chyzhevskoho" in his uncatalogued

While he was studying with Kroner, Chyzhevsky began to work on his doctoral dissertation "Hegel in Rußland" (Hegel in Russia). Kroner remembered his talented student and in 1964, at quite an advanced age, contributed an article to a festschrift in Chyzhevsky's honour.¹⁰

Chyzhevsky also attended the lectures of renowned thinkers such as Heinrich Rickert, Jonas Kohn, Hermann Ebbinghaus, and Martin Heidegger, and all of them had some influence on his philosophical thinking. I should point out, however, that Chyzhevsky arrived in Germany at a mature age with a formed worldview and some settled philosophical convictions. This is evident from the fact that in 1921, that is, before taking up philosophy in Germany, he had drawn up a list of research projects, almost all of which were eventually published.¹¹ Thanks to the knowledge he had acquired in Kyiv, he produced an impressive number of works in a short period in which he also did translations for a living. Admittedly, Chyzhevsky was not a systematic philosopher and did not construct his own system, but he did prove himself a talented historian of philosophy and a specialist in Slavic spiritual culture. What he lacked in systematicity he made up in breadth of knowledge. He was a Hegelian philosopher in the wide sense of the word, that is, a philosopher of culture.

During this period Chyzhevsky published reviews of the philosophical literature coming out in Soviet Russia (1922), S. Hessen's *Pedagogika* (1923), and the first volume of G.G. Shpet's survey of the history of Russian philosophy (1923), and began to study seriously the history of Ukrainian and Russian philosophies, particularly the history of Hegelianism in Russia.

The Prague Period

In 1924 Chyzhevsky was offered a lectureship in philosophy at the Ukrainian Higher Pedagogical Institute in Prague. Given his difficult financial circumstances, he gladly accepted the offer. He was quickly promoted from lecturer (1924–25) to associate professor (1925–27) and to full professor (1927–32). He taught courses in logic, introductory

fond in the archives of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the United States.

10. Richard Kroner, "Zum Problem des Übergeschichtlichen," in *Orbis Scriptus: Dmitrij Tschizewskij zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Dietrich Gerhardt, Wiktor Weintraub, and Hans-Jürgen zum Winkler (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1966), 439–45.

11. *Orbis Scriptus*, 26.

philosophy, the history of philosophy, aesthetics, and the history of religion. At the same time he taught philosophy at the Ukrainian Free University, where he had the rank of associate professor (1929–32) and then extraordinary professor. It was there that Chyzhevsky defended his first doctoral dissertation “Hegel i frantsuzska revoliutsiia” (Hegel and the French Revolution) in 1929.

This was the only period in his life when Chyzhevsky taught only philosophy courses and devoted most of his research to philosophical problems. He chose his field of specialization as early as 1926; namely, the history of the philosophy of the Slavic peoples. This field, however, proved too restrictive, so he added to it the comparative history of Slavic literatures and, finally, arrived at the spiritual history of the Slavs to which he devoted the rest of his life. Much of his work was innovative and pioneering. For example, his monographs *Filosofiiia na Ukraini: Sproba istoriografii* (Philosophy in Ukraine: An Essay in Historiography) (1926, 2d ed., 1928) and *Narysy z istorii filosofii na Ukraini* (Outlines of the History of Philosophy in Ukraine) (1931) were groundbreaking works, which opened up a new field of research. His pioneering studies of Skovoroda's philosophy, such as “Skovoroda i nemetskaia mistika” (Skovoroda and German Mysticism) (1929), “Filosofichna metoda Skovorody” (Skovoroda's Philosophical Method) (1930), and *Filosofiiia H.S. Skovorody* (H.S. Skovoroda's Philosophy) (1934), demonstrated the mystical foundation of Skovoroda's philosophy and his closeness to the German mystics Joann Arndt, Jacob Boehme, Valentin Weigel, Angelus Silesius and others. At the same time he studied other areas of philosophy and published a logic textbook (1924), *Hretska filosofiiia do Platona: Khrestomatiia* (Greek Philosophy up to Plato: Chrestomathy) (1926), “K probleme dvoynika” (On the Problem of the Double) (1929), which was part of a planned but unfinished work *O formalizme v etike* (On Formalism in Ethics), “Hegel et Nietzsche” (Hegel and Nietzsche) (1929), “Religioznaia utopiia A.A. Ivanova” (A.A. Ivanov's Religious Utopia) (1930), “Krizis sovetskoi filosofii” (The Crisis of Soviet Philosophy) (1930), “Logika i etika” (Logic and Ethics) (1931), “Dostoevsky — psikholog” (Dostoevsky as a Psychologist) (1931), “Dostoevsky i Masaryk” (Dostoevsky and Masaryk) (1931), “Platon v dävnei Rusi” (Plato in Old Rus') (1931), and others. Besides philosophical works Chyzhevsky wrote a substantial study “Novi doslidy nad istoriieiu astrologii” (New Research on the History of Astrology) (1929), in which

he reviewed the different periods in the development of astronomy and astrology.

During this period Chyzhevsky became a member of the Prague Linguistic Circle. He had heard about formalism but had paid little attention to it. As a student at St. Petersburg University Chyzhevsky attended lectures of the prominent linguists Baudouin de Courtenay and Aleksei Shakhmatov, and later at Kyiv University he studied with Professor Lukianenko, who was a follower of Shakhmatov. They sparked his interest in the Russian formalist school. Although he was not attracted to Viktor Shklovsky, one of the founders of the school, who seemed to ignore the subject matter of literary works, Chyzhevsky had a very high opinion of Boris Eikhenbaum and Boris Tomashevsky who, in his view, were "moderate and genuine" formalists.¹² He really discovered formalism only after meeting Prince Nikolai Trubetzkoy and Roman Jakobson. Both scholars, with whom Chyzhevsky was on friendly terms, appreciated his erudition and consulted him on scientific problems.¹³ Among the prominent formalists whom Chyzhevsky met in Prague were Vilém Mathesius and the Czech critic and aestheticist Jan Mukařovský. Chyzhevsky took an active part in the circle's work on the problems of phonology, which was initiated by Prince Trubetzkoy, and frequently read papers at its meetings. Slavists still consider his paper "Phonologie und Psychologie" (Phonology and Psychology), presented to the First Phonological Conference in Prague in 1931, a basic text. Chyzhevsky's association with the circle had a profound influence on his approach to literary analysis. Previously, his analysis was mostly content-oriented. This type of analysis had been introduced and developed in Prague by Alfred Bem, a well-known investigator of Dostoevsky's works. Henceforth Chyzhevsky also used the formalist, or to be more exact, the structuralist method. An example of this approach is his article "Zur Komposition von Gogols 'Mantel'" (On the Composition of Gogol's "The Overcoat") (first published in *Zeitschrift für slavische Philologie* in 1937), which he wrote for Prince Trubetzkoy's festschrift. He often used other

12. Dmitrij Tschizewskij, "Prager Erinnerungen: Herkunft des Prager Linguistischen Zirkels und seine Leistungen," in *Sound, Sign and Meaning: Quinquagenary of the Prague Linguistic Circle*, ed. Ladislav Matejka, no. 6 of Michigan Slavic Contributions (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1976), 20.

13. Jindřich Toman, ed., *Letters and Other Materials from the Moscow and Prague Linguistic Circles, 1912–1945* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1994), 153–5.

methods as well, for example, the comparative, historical, psychoanalytic, and biographical methods.

Besides belonging to the Linguistic Circle, Chyzhevsky was also a member of the Ukrainian Historical and Philological Society, the Ukrainian Society of Bibliophiles in Prague, the Siiach Publishing Association, where he was a member of the executive board, the Russian Philosophical Society, where he was the scientific secretary, the Biological Society, the Russian Historical Society, the International Hegelian Union, where he was a member of the executive board, the German Society for Slavic Studies in Prague, and the Swiss Archives of the History of Philosophy, where he was a member of the editorial board. This list indicates the wide range of his scientific interests. He was active in all these societies: in the Ukrainian Historical and Philological Society alone he read over thirty papers.

The Prague period in Chyzhevsky's intellectual biography marked the beginning of his independent work in philosophy and Slavic studies. In this period he developed an interdisciplinary comparativistic approach to the history of Slavic cultures and philosophy. He established contacts with many outstanding scholars of different nationalities and was active in various scientific societies. Having arrived in Prague in 1924 as a practically unknown lecturer of philosophy, by the time he left the city he was a well-known and respected scholar.

This was probably the happiest and at least the most stable period in Chyzhevsky's married life. His daughter Tetiana was born in 1924 and his wife studied medicine at the German Institute in Prague, becoming eventually a dermatologist. This was the only period in his long life in which Chyzhevsky was surrounded with his own family and could fully enjoy family life.

The Halle Period

As the Czech government gradually cut its financial support for émigré institutions, Chyzhevsky had to look for employment elsewhere. In 1931 Bonn and Halle Universities offered him a position as lecturer in Slavic studies. He chose the latter and began teaching there in 1932. Coming to Halle Chyzhevsky expected to defend his doctoral dissertation and advance to the rank of ordinary professor, but things turned out differently. When the National Socialists came to power Chyzhevsky's situation became precarious because he was Slav and his wife was Jewish. He was barred from teaching positions that had opened up in the Slavic Depart-

ments of Vienna and Bratislava Universities. For years he lived under the constant threat of dismissal and imprisonment in a concentration camp. His doctoral degree from the Ukrainian Free University in Prague was not recognized, but in 1933 he defended his German dissertation "Hegel in Rußland," which was published in 1934, reprinted in 1961, and came out in Russian in 1939. Although Chyzhevsky held the position of an external lecturer in the Russian language, he taught not only language courses in Russian, Ukrainian, Polish, Czech, and Slovak but also courses in the history of philosophy, church history, Slavic literatures, and comparative studies. From 1934 to 1939, in addition to his courses at Halle University, he taught Slavic languages at the University of Jena. Recognizing Chyzhevsky's scholarly achievements, the Germans allowed him, without a formal second doctorate, to use the title of full professor, which he had received in Prague, and to supervise the work of doctoral candidates, a function restricted in Germany to full professors.

Outside the lecture hall he organized for his most gifted students two circles, one in Slavic studies and the other in philosophy. The circles met mostly at his home where, after reading and discussing their papers the members could browse through the host's newly acquired books. Sometimes Chyzhevsky treated them to dishes he had prepared. He was a master chef, who collected recipes of different cuisines. Sometimes after lectures Chyzhevsky invited his students to a small café or pub to continue discussions.¹⁴ An informal setting, he believed, was more conducive to learning. He also participated in the meetings of a small group of the anti-fascist intellectuals through whom he kept in touch with concentration-camp prisoners and rendered material assistance to Jewish and Slavic forced labourers in Germany.¹⁵

14. Wolfgang Berkefeld "Zum Geleit: Ein kleiner Kreis in Halle," in *Orbis Scriptus*, 27–33; and Dietrich Gerhardt, "Erinnerungen an D.I. Tschizewskij," in *In Memoriam Dmitrij Tschizewskij (1894–1977): Beiträge des Festkolloquiums am 30.4.1997*, ed. Angela Richter (Halle: Institut für Slawistik, 1997), 8–18; translated into Russian by V. Iantsen as "Vospominaniia o D.I. Chizhevskom," in *Slavistyka*, vol. 1, *Dmytro Chyzhevsky i sviitova slavistyka: Zbirnyk naukovykh prats*, ed. Roman Mnykh and Ievhen Pshenychny (Drohobych: Kolo, 2003), 195–208. More information about such circles is found in unpublished recollections about Chyzhevsky that W. Janzen and I have collected and are preparing for publication in the collection *Materialy k biografii D. Chizhevskogo (1894–1977)*.

15. See various autobiographies of Chyzhevsky and explanatory notes preserved in his Halle and Heidelberg archives, which will be published in *Materialy k biografii D.*

In this period Chyzhevsky made a sensational archival discovery: he found a manuscript of Jan Comenius's major philosophical treatise *De rerum humanarum emendatione consultatio catholica* (General Counsel on Improving Human Affairs), which was thought to be lost.¹⁶ He prepared a part of this work for publication, supplying a detailed commentary.

Although from 1932 Chyzhevsky lectured only in Slavic studies, he continued to do research in philosophy. In the Halle period he wrote some books and articles in philosophy: "V. Lypynsky iako filosof istorii" (V. Lypynsky as a Philosopher of History) (1932), "P.O. Kuliš, ein ukrainischer Philosoph des Herzens" (P.O. Kulish, A Ukrainian Philosopher of the Heart) (1933), *Filosofiiia H.S. Skovorody, Hegel bei den Slaven* (Hegel among the Slavs) (1934), "V.J. Vernads'kyjs Naturphilosophie" (V.I. Vernadsky's Philosophy of Nature)" (1935), "K probleme bessmertiiia u Dostoevskogo" (On the Problem of Immortality in Dostoevsky) (1936), "Shevchenko i religiiia" (Shevchenko and Religion) (1936), "K problému filosofického jazyka a jazykové filosofie" (On the Problem of a Philosophical Language and a Linguistic Philosophy) (1937), "K Máchovu světovému názoru" (On Mach's Worldview) (1938), "Komenský a západní filosofie" (Comenius and Western Philosophy) (1940), and *Štúrova filozofia života* (Shtur's Philosophy of Life) (1941).

After defining his field of studies as "Germano-Slavic," by which he meant the study of the German influence on the spiritual life of the Slavs, Chyzhevsky at the outbreak of war decided not to publish anything in this field because evidence of German influence could have been construed as justification of Hitler's political claims. The uncertainty—at least until 1944—that the Slavic cultures would survive prompted him to continue his research on them. He wrote "Puškin und die Romantik" (Pushkin and Romanticism) (1937), "Komenský a němečtí pietisté" (Comenius and the German Pietists) (1940), *Ukrainskyi literaturnyi barok: Narysy* (The Ukrainian Literary Baroque: Essays) (1941–44), *Istoriia ukrainskoi literatury: Narysy* (History of Ukrainian Literature: Essays) (1941–42),

Chizhevskogo (1894–1977).

16. For more details, see Werner Korthaase, "Was mit der Consultatio catholica, dem Hauptwerk des Comenius, von 1934 bis 1945 geschah," *Comenius-Jahrbuch* 3 (1995): 72–90, translated into Ukrainian by Oleh Radchenko in Verner Korthaaze, *Vid Melakhtona do Komenskoho ta Chyzhevskoho*, ed. Roman Mnykh and Ievhen Pshenychny, 2d enlarged ed. (Drohobych: Kolo, 2005), 124–51.

"Ukrainski druky 18 viku v Nimechchyni" (Ukrainian Printed Publications of the 18th Century in Germany) (1936), *Ukrainski druky v Halle* (Ukrainian Printed Publications in Halle) (1943), and many others. Some of the works written at the time were printed much later.

An avid bibliophile and bibliographer, by June 1945 Chyzhevsky had collected a private library of over 7,000 volumes. The collection was thematically varied, but its main sections were Slavic studies, philosophy, theology, and sociology. It contained quite a few rare publications from the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries, a carefully selected set of old bibles, and rare émigré periodicals. His archive of 136 folders, covering the period from 1921 to 1945, contained drafts, manuscripts, notes, outlines, and offprints of his works and some works by other scholars.¹⁷ Chyzhevsky had to abandon almost the entire priceless library and archive in Halle when he fled the invading Red Army. The archive and a part of the library that has been preserved are located today at the Slavic Institute of Halle University. The library has been catalogued and is readily accessible.¹⁸ In the 1990s the archival materials were numbered, but they have not been analyzed yet.

The Marburg Period

In 1945 Chyzhevsky ended up in Marburg where he became the interim director of the seminar in Slavic studies at Marburg University with prospects of soon becoming a full professor and the department head. He devoted much time and energy to setting up the seminar and its library and founded the Interdisciplinary Slavic Studies Society, which grouped together the most gifted undergraduates and graduates in the seminar, as

17. For more information, see V. Iantsen [Janzen], "O sudbe knizhnykh sobranii i arkhivov Dmitriia Ivanovicha Chizhevskogo v Germanii," *Issledovaniia po istorii russkoi mysli: Ezhegodnik* 2003, ed. M.A. Kolerov (Moscow: Modest Kolerov, 2004), 232–78; translated into Ukrainian by Mariia Shcherbak as "Vriatuvaty, zberehty i osmyslyty: Pro doliu knyzhkovykh zibrat ta arkhiviv Dmytra Ivanovycha Chyzhevskoho u Nimechchyni," *Slavistyka*, 135–63; and my "Stan doslidzhennia filosofskykh studii Dmytra Chyzhevskoho v Ukraini," *Filosofska dumka*, 2004, no. 6: 116–33; and "Naukova ta arkhivna spadshchyna Dmytra Chyzhevskoho," *Siverianskyi litopys*, 2005, no. 1: 113–19.

18. In April 2001 the catalogue of Chyzhevsky's library in Halle appeared on the Internet. This was a collaborative project of Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt in Halle. The catalogue came out in print under the title *Dmitrij I. Tschizewskij und seine Hallesche Privatbibliothek*, ed. Angela Richter and Svetlana Mengel (Münster, Hamburg, and London: LIT Verlag, 2003). For more information, see my review of it in *Ukrainskyi humanitarnyi ohliad* (Kyiv: Krytyka, 2004), 10: 269–74.

well as instructors in other Marburg universities and foreign visitors. Chyzhevsky and Max Fasmer, a recognized authority in Slavic studies, played an important role in developing this field in West Germany.

Chyzhevsky was an exemplary teacher who devoted much of his time to work with students. In the absence of printed texts, especially in the history of early Russian literature, he spent nights typing them on his typewriter to provide his students with the necessary materials. As in Halle he invited students to his home and to cafes after the seminars. Many of his students went on to become professors and well-known German Slavists.

Chyzhevsky took an active part in the scientific life of the Ukrainian diaspora, which was concentrated in Displaced Persons' (DP) camps throughout Germany. He was active in the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences (UVAN) in which he was a member of two sections: the history and theory of literature and linguistics. In 1947 he organized a philosophical section, which began to work under his direction. At this time Chyzhevsky delivered many papers at various conferences and section meetings of UVAN and in DP camps. He regularly contributed to various Ukrainian periodicals: *Arka*, *Nashe zhyttia*, *Zahrava*, *Ukrainska literatura hazeta* and others. He also taught philosophy and logic at the Ukrainian Free University in Munich and at the Ukrainian Theological Academy. His Ukrainian students preserved fond memories of their professor and of his lectures.

Chyzhevsky often travelled to deliver lectures in German universities, where he drew large audiences. Many of the lectures had to be cancelled because of his frequent illnesses. The constant threat of imprisonment under Hitler's regime and malnutrition in the postwar years undermined his health and depleted his strength. In a letter to his colleague at UVAN, Volodymyr Miiakovsky, he wrote: "Dear Vladimir Varlaamovich! An unpleasant thing happened: I already obtained a leave of absence for the trip to Mittenwald but came down with flu, and on the heels of that sickness, a week later, I came down with another—paratyphoid fever! So that I am amazed at myself: how can my exhausted body allow me to write letters now."¹⁹ In another letter he said: "it is becoming simply impossible to stay here. I still don't have a job. There is nothing to eat:

19. Chyzhevsky to Miiakovsky, Marburg, 15 July 1947, Archives of UVAN, V. Miiakovsky collection.

the parcels stopped coming in the fall. I still survive somehow, but this week the only thing that is being issued is bread.”²⁰ The parcels to which Chyzhevsky referred were sent to him by his wife Lidiia Marshak, who had emigrated to the United States in 1939. For some reason most of the parcels did not reach their destination, and those that arrived were usually shared with his students. Lidiia spearheaded Chyzhevsky’s move to America. In 1946 she asked Jakobson, who was teaching at Columbia University, to find a position for Chyzhevsky and help him obtain a visa. Jakobson immediately responded but the process of obtaining all the necessary documents dragged on for two and a half years because of bureaucratic formalities and Chyzhevsky’s vacillation. Acquiring the necessary medical certificates and other documents and filling out various applications consumed much time. At the same time Chyzhevsky wanted to leave devastated postwar Germany in which life was a daily struggle for survival but, on the other hand, he had close ties with the German academic community and felt almost at home in Germany. He may never have made up his mind to depart, had it not been for a scandal that shocked and hurt him deeply. On the basis of intrigues and denunciations by some of his colleagues at Marburg University, the Gessen minister of culture publicly accused Chyzhevsky of being a spy, a Communist, and an “unqualified Slavist.”

In spite of hardships, hunger, and lack of scientific literature, Chyzhevsky’s productivity did not falter: he taught at several institutions, wrote articles and books, and lectured all over Germany. In this period he published such works as: *Strachov — Dostojevskij — Nietzsche* (Strachov, Dostoevsky, and Nietzsche) (1946), *Die Eigenart der russischen Sprache* (The Peculiarity of the Russian Language) (1946), “Deiaki problemy doslidzhennia formalnoho boku poezii Shevchenka” (Some Problems in the Research of the Formal Side of Shevchenko’s Poetry) (1946), *Istoriia filosofii, 1: Antychna filosofii* (The History of Philosophy, Part 1, Ancient Philosophy) (1947), *Doestojevskij und Nietzsche* (Dostoevsky and Nietzsche) (1947), *P. Čaadaev: Filosofické listy* (P. Chaadaev: Philosophical Letters) (1947), “Do problemy baroko” (On the Problem of the Baroque) (1947), *Kulturno-istorychni epochy* (Cultural Historical Periods) (1948), *Geschichte der altrussischen Literatur im 11., 12. und 13. Jht: Kiever Epoche* (History of Early

20. Chyzhevsky to Miiakovsky, Marburg, 24 February 1948, *ibid.*

Russian Literature of the 11th, 12th, and 13th Centuries: The Kievan Period) (1948), "Pochatky i kintsi ideologichnykh epokh" (The Beginnings and Ends of Ideological Periods) (1949), "Pushkin und die russische Sprache" (Pushkin and the Russian Language) (1949), and "Simnadtsiate storichcha v dukhovnii istorii Ukrainy" (The Seventeenth Century in the Spiritual History of Ukraine) (1948).

The Harvard Period

In fall 1949 Chyzhevsky began teaching as a visiting lecturer in the Slavic Department of Harvard University. He taught courses in Early Russian literature, Ukrainian literature, Russian literature from the fourteenth to the twentieth centuries, Romanticism in Slavic literatures, Russian Symbolism and Futurism, the comparative history of Slavic literatures, and others. Chyzhevsky was probably the only Harvard professor who did not give a single lecture in English. With his excellent memory, he quickly acquired a reading knowledge of English and an understanding of the spoken language. He could grade student tests, most of which were written in English, and follow the papers that were read at the department. Yet he adamantly refused to speak English. This severely limited his contacts among the Harvard faculty and made life more difficult than it might have been. His relations with colleagues in the Slavic Department were not smooth. Although formally the department was headed by Mikhail Karpovich, it was actually ruled by Jakobson. Chyzhevsky had been on friendly terms with him since their Prague days, but now they often did not see things eye to eye. Karpovich's attempts to "smooth out the sharp corners" and to avoid conflicts were not always successful. The roots of the personal conflict did not lie in intellectual rivalry, since Chyzhevsky concentrated mostly on literature and philosophy while Jakobson focused on language, but in the disparity in academic ranks and scholarly status. Jakobson was a tenured full professor, while Chyzhevsky was merely a visiting lecturer without any security. Chyzhevsky felt unappreciated by American Slavists. In Germany he was undoubtedly recognized as a scholar and teacher, but in America things were very different: the reigning authority in Slavic studies was Jakobson. Jakobson was constantly invited to various conferences, while Chyzhevsky appeared mostly before student audiences.²¹ Chyzhevsky's correspondence in this period shows that he

21. Hugh McLean, Chyzhevsky's student, in his "Memories about Chyzhevsky,"

suffered bouts of depression, which he had never experienced under more difficult conditions in Germany. The main reasons why Chyzhevsky returned to Germany were, I believe, to find a position corresponding to his scholarly stature and to emerge from under Jakobson's shadow.

In his letters from Cambridge Chyzhevsky often complained about American students who, in his opinion, did not appreciate the quality of his courses. There was only a handful of talented students, mostly Slavs, with whom he worked seriously. He was also critical of the American system of teaching. In a letter to Georgii Florovsky he wrote: "I am very disappointed in the method of teaching, that is, in the emphasis on testing and grading (on which scholarships depend) and, since exams are written, all learning is reduced to cramming: from the books recommended for study only the shortest textbooks are chosen."²² At Harvard Chyzhevsky did not organize a student circle as he had in Germany, yet he kept the tradition of café discussions after seminars. As a lecturer he was not as popular with the students as Jakobson, whose lectures attracted large audiences, but the students who could follow Chyzhevsky's lectures benefited from his learning. Some students were intimidated by his erudition: at his seminars he sometimes embarrassed them with his questions. He gained the reputation of an eccentric and became the target of jokes and anecdotes. He was aware of this and enjoyed it. The image of an odd ball, which he confirmed with his long hair, colourful clothes, and stories about the devil, allowed him to criticize freely American education and culture and to disregard inconvenient conventions. It was only in America that Chyzhevsky's colleagues regarded him as a grown-up child who should not be taken too seriously, and he must have been aware of this. A year after arriving in Cambridge he began to look for an opportunity to return to Germany.

During the Harvard period Chyzhevsky was active in the intellectual life of the Ukrainian emigration, particularly of UVAN, where he was a member of the executive board and head of the literature and philosophy sections. From 1951 he served as the editor of UVAN's English-language *Annals*. He contributed many entries to *Entsyklopediia ukrainoznavstva*

describes the "inner conflict" between the two scholars. These and other recollections of Chyzhevsky and some archival materials will appear in the collection *Materialy k biografii D. Chizhevskogo (1894–1977)*.

22. Chyzhevsky to Florovsky, Cambridge, 14 June 1950, Archive of rev. Georgii Florovsky, Special Collections of Princeton University Library, C0586.

v dvokh tomakh (Encyclopedia of Ukraine in Two Volumes) (1949) and completed his *Istoriia ukrainskoi literatury vid pochatkiv do doby realizmu* (History of Ukrainian Literature from Its Origin to the Realistic Period) (1956), which received high marks from literary historians. His monograph *Outline of Comparative Slavic Literatures* (1952), on which he worked for several years, was acclaimed widely by Slavists. He also published articles such as "Poza mezhamy krasoty: Do estetyky barokkovoï literatury" (Beyond the Limits of Beauty: On the Aesthetics of Baroque Literature) (1952), "The Unknown Gogol" (1952), "Gogol': Artist and Thinker" (1952), "Comenius's Labyrinth of the World: Its Themes and Their Sources" (1953), "S.L. Frank kak istorik filosofii i literatury" (S.L. Frank as a Historian of Philosophy and Literature) (1954), "Shiller v Rossii" (Schiller in Russia) (1956), and "The Influence of the Philosophy of Schelling (1775–1854) in the Ukraine" (1956).

The Heidelberg Period

At the beginning of 1956 Chyzhevsky received the Guggenheim Prize for his publication of Jan Comenius's works. Taking a one-year leave from Harvard, he went to Heidelberg where, thanks to the intercession of his friend Hans-Georg Gadamer, the head of the Philosophy Department, he was invited to join the recently formed Department of Slavic Studies. The department expanded into the Institute of Slavic Studies, and Chyzhevsky became its temporary director. He was also made honorary professor of Heidelberg, Frankfurt (1964), and Köln (1964–77) Universities and the interim head of the Department of Literature in the Institute of Slavic Studies at Köln University (1964–70). In this period he supervised over twenty-six doctoral dissertations. He was elected full member of the Heidelberg and the Croatian Academies of Sciences, chairman of the German Union of Slavic Teachers, and a member of many German and international scientific societies. Chyzhevsky also edited six Slavic series. In spite of the administrative work and editing, which took much of his time, he continued to publish, and his works won him world renown. Among the works of this period are: *Aus zwei Welten: Beiträge zur Geschichte der slavisch-westlichen literarischen Beziehungen* (From Two Worlds: On the History of Slavic-Western Literary Relations) (1956), *On Romanticism in Slavic Literatures* (1957), *Das heilige Rußland: Russische Geistesgeschichte 1: 10.–17. Jahrhundert* (Holy Rus': History of the Russian Spirit, vol. 1, 10th–17th Centuries) (1959), *History of Russian Literature from the Eleventh Century to the End of the Baroque* (1960), *Rußland zwischen Ost und West: Russische*

Geistesgeschichte II: 18.–20. Jahrhundert (Russia between East and West: History of the Russian Spirit, vol. 2, 18th–20th Centuries) (1961), *Hegel bei den Slaven* (2d enlarged ed., 1961), *Russische Literaturgeschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (History of Russian Literature in the Nineteenth Century) (2 vols., 1964), *Vergleichende Geschichte der slavischen Literaturen* (Comparative History of Slavic Literatures) (1968), *Kleinere Schriften* (Brief Works) (1972), *Skovoroda: Dichter, Denker, Mystiker* (Skovoroda: Poet. Thinker. Mystic) (1974), and dozens of articles.

During the Heidelberg period Chyzhevsky added new books to his private library, which he began to build in 1945. By the end of his life it contained over 12,000 publications. After his death his daughter, Tetiana, sold the library along with the archive to Heidelberg University. Today they are housed in the university library and can be used for research. The cataloging of the library has not been completed; there is only a general description and a card index of the books. According to the description, the library has 604 items that were published before 1900, including rare baroque publications, works on emblematics and mysticism, the works of Jan Comenius and works on him, and a large number of Protestant writings from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries); 4,291 publications on Slavic subjects that came out after 1900 (a large part of them are on Russian subjects); 4,847 books on the literature of various countries, philosophy, theology, natural science, and art, including about seventy volumes of the series “Gifted with Several Artistic Talents”; and 2,460 mass publications and dissertations.²³ Chyzhevsky’s archive is preserved in the library’s Department of Manuscripts and Rare Publications under the fond number “Heid.Hs.3881.” Occupying twenty metres of shelf, the archive has been put in order but not catalogued. There is only a general description of it. It is divided into ten sections, the most interesting of which is section C, the correspondence (about 30,000 letters, many of them from noted scholars and civic leaders). There is also an interesting collection of manuscripts by other writers, including famous thinkers, and a collection of autographs and graphic works.²⁴

23. Unfortunately, in 2003 a part of Chyzhevsky’s collection was sold by the university to a German book dealer, so I cannot say exactly what is still left in the library.

24. For a more detailed account of Chyzhevsky’s private archives and libraries in Hiedelberg, see n. 17.

Compared to his professional life Chyzhevsky's personal life was rather grim: he was too old to receive tenure and, according to German law, was not eligible for a pension. To make a living he had to work and publish. In 1964 he received a monthly allowance of 1,500 marks, which barely covered his rent. From the mid-1970s he was often sick and very lonely.

Chyzhevsky's relations with his compatriots outside Ukraine were not amicable. He considered himself to be Ukrainian, although his first language was Russian. As a student at Kyiv University he became friends with future well-known Ukrainian poets such as Mykola Zerov, Pavlo Fylypovych, and Oswald Burghardt. He was also close to Volodymyr Shulhyn, who organized a Ukrainian student society at the university.²⁵ Chyzhevsky spoke Ukrainian well and had a deep interest in Ukrainian culture and political life. But in 1918, as a deputy of the Russian Social-Democratic Workers' Party to the Central Rada, Chyzhevsky voted against Ukrainian independence. This reflected the party's and his own federalist convictions. Later he changed his views on the question of independence, but his vote foreclosed forever relations with certain Ukrainian circles. In his Prague years (1924–32) he taught at Ukrainian educational institutions and belonged to many Ukrainian learned societies, but he also maintained contacts and collaborated with many Russian, Czech, Slovak, and German scholars; published his works in various languages; and was a members of many non-Ukrainian scientific societies. Among his Russian colleagues he counted prominent thinkers such as Georgii Florovsky, Semen Frank, Sergei Hessen, Jakobson, Ivan Lapshin, Lossky, Boris Nikolaevsky, Aleksei Remizov, Vsevolod Sechkarev, Fedor Stepun, Nikolai Trubetzkoy, George Vernadsky, and Zenkovsky. Nor did he limit his research to Ukrainian culture, but was interested in other Slavic literatures, languages, and philosophy. Some Ukrainians disapproved of this "cosmopolitanism" and his wide contacts with the Russian diaspora, taking them as a sign of his lack of Ukrainian patriotism. While some circles in the Ukrainian diaspora criticized Chyzhevsky's work for lacking a definite national position, Soviet

25. In 1918 Shulhyn was killed in the Battle of Kruty. Chyzhevsky was a frequent guest of this Ukrainian family and a friend also of Volodymyr's older brother Oleksander, who later became a prominent Ukrainian political leader and scholar, and of his sister Nadiia Shulhyn-Ishchuk, a mathematician and cultural activist. These facts are mentioned in the yet unpublished recollections of Natalia Ishchuk-Pazuniak, "Zhmutky spohadiv," which will appear in *Materialy k biografii D. Chizhevskogo (1894–1977)*.

scholars attacked him as a Ukrainian nationalist who tried to prove the superiority of Ukrainian to Russian culture.

Although Chyzhevsky was active in the Ukrainian scholarly community outside Ukraine, his relations with its academic institutions were often strained. In a letter to Miiakovsky he wrote: "I would love to come to Munich and Augsburg, but Dean Shcherbakivsky, whom I asked at the beginning of the semester when I might begin teaching (when does the semester start), has not answered my letter yet. I have the impression that my lectures at that university are not only of no interest to them but downright unwelcome."²⁶ Such misunderstandings with the Ukrainian Free University in Munich kept recurring until Chyzhevsky, finally, left it. It should be noted that Chyzhevsky had many lifelong friends among Ukrainian intellectuals, including Jurij Bojko-Blochyn, Burghardt, Levko Chykalenko, Dmytro Doroshenko, Panas Fedenko, Assya Humesky, George Luckyj, Ievhen Malaniuk, Miiakovsky, Ivan Mirchuk, Ivan Ohienko, Omelian Pritsak, Vasyl Rudko, Ihor Ševčenko, George Shevelov, Vasyl Simovych, and Mykhailo Vetukhiv.

Chyzhevsky was not a political leader but a scholar who devoted his considerable talents to the development of Ukrainian and other Slavic intellectual cultures. His contribution to Ukrainian scholarship is very impressive, and his countrymen are beginning to recognize him as one of the most outstanding Ukrainian scholars of the twentieth century. They have honoured his memory by naming the chair of Ukrainian literature at the Ukrainian Research Institute of Harvard University and the Kirovohrad Regional Universal Research Library after him. In 1994 the centenary of his birth was marked by an international conference in Kyiv, followed in subsequent years by periodic seminars and conferences on Chyzhevsky in other cities of Ukraine. In 1999 the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine established the Chyzhevsky Award in philosophy. His name appears in Ukrainian encyclopedias and textbooks in various fields, and a four-volume collection of his works has just come out in Kyiv. Still, his scholarly heritage deserves fuller study not only in Ukraine but also in other countries whose culture he analyzed.

Studying Chyzhevsky's intellectual biography and analyzing his scholarly and archival legacy, one must admit that he never fitted into

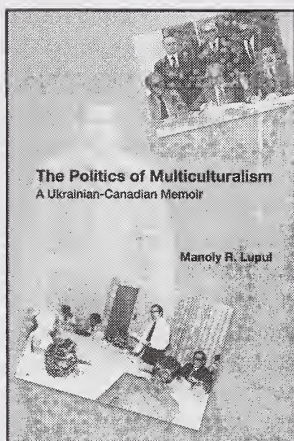
26. Chyzhevsky to Miiakovsky, 25 February 1949, UVAN Archives, V. Miiakovsky collection.

only one cultural universe. He was an individual of European culture, a European not in the territorial, but rather in the spiritual sense of the term. It is from this aspect that we must approach Dmytro Chyzhevsky's legacy, rejecting all artificial barriers and borders.

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Review Article

1654 and All That in 2004

Stephen Velychenko

Oleh O. Rafalsky. *Pereiaslavskyi dohovir Ukrainy z Rosiieiu 1654 roku: Retrospektyvnyi analiz*. Kyiv: Heneza, 2004. 294 pp.

Pavlo Sokhan et al., eds. *Pereiaslavska rada 1654 roku: Istoriohrafia ta doslidzhennia*. Kyiv: Smolyskyp, 2003. xx, 885 pp.

Oleksandr I. Hurzhii and Taras V. Chukhlib, eds. *Pereiaslavska rada ochyma istorykiv, movoiu dokumentiv*. Kyiv: Ukraina, 2003. 430 pp.

Iurii Shapoval, ed. *Petro Shelest: "Spravzhnii sud istorii shche poperedu": Spohady, shchodennyky, dokumenty, materialy*. Kyiv: Heneza, 2003. 807 pp.

Viktor F. Andriienko et al. *Volodymyr Shcherbytsky: Spohady suchasnykiv*. Ed. V.I. Kyiashko. Kyiv: In Iure, 2003. 587 pp.

Andrzej Gil. *Dekret prezydenta Leonida Kuczmę o obchodach 350 rocznicy Kozackiej Rady Perejasławskiej 1654 r., i jego znaczenie dla wewnętrznej i zewnętrznej sytuacji Ukrainy*. Lublin: Instytut Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej, 2003. 60 pp.

The 1654 Treaty of Pereiaslav seemed fated to go the way of other early-modern treaties. Many on both sides opposed it. Within a few years after having proclaimed it eternal, both signatories contravened its stipulations: one declared it null and void, and then both declared war on each other. Bohdan Khmelnytsky actually hid and never disseminated his copy of the treaty, while the Council of Officers did not ratify it. In 1659 Russian envoys gave the document a new lease on life when they alleged that the more restrictive terms they had drawn up that year for a Ukrainian delegation to sign were the terms of 1654. Fifty years later Peter I learned

that the original document had disappeared and by 1789 Cossack Ukraine, the territory to which the treaty referred, also disappeared. The treaty became legally relevant once more at the turn of the nineteenth century in connection with talks about Finnish and Polish autonomy and then again in 1917.

In 1904 the Revolutionary Ukrainian Party published two postcards commemorating the 250th anniversary of the treaty, which graphically condemned it as the beginning of Ukraine's enslavement.¹ The party's activists formed the first Ukrainian terrorist organization, Defense of Ukraine, and tried to blow up Pushkin's statue in Kharkiv to protest the anniversary. On 18 January that year Panas Saksahansky's Ukrainian troupe staged a Sunday evening performance of *Bohdan Khmelnytsky* at the Bergoli theatre in Kyiv. Kyiv newspapers mention no other public commemorations.² In 1914, at the Kadet party's annual conference, Mykhailo Hrushevsky referred to the treaty as a model, but that year national leaders devoted their energies to the centennial of Taras Shevchenko's birth, not to the anniversary of the Pereiaslav Council. Between 1917 and 1921 Ukrainian governments and political groups commemorated the events of 1654 as they saw fit. An article in Nestor Makhno's newspaper *Shliakh do voli* (27 November 1919) explained that his followers were not concerned with what one dictator, Khmelnytsky, did with another dictator, Tsar Aleksei in 1654. Their "ex-slaves," who were free now, embraced the motto "death to all exploiters." In the 1930s Mikhail Pokrovsky's criticism of Khmelnytsky was reflected in the huge grey shroud that concealed the hetman's statue in front of St. Sophia Cathedral during Soviet holiday celebrations. The Soviet regime officially celebrated the treaty for the first time only in 1944, on Nikita Khrushchev's recommendation. In 1954, on the treaty's 300th anniversary, Communist Party officials and historians gave it yet another lease on life as the basis of an official interpretation of history that stressed Ukrainian-

1. M. Zabochen, O. Polishchuk, and V. Iatsuk, *Na spomyn ridnoho kraiu: Ukraina u starii lystivtsi* (Kyiv: Krynytsia, 2000), 207. The drawings by the Eastern Ukrainian Vasyl Riznychenko were published under a pseudonym in Austrian-ruled Galicia. One depicts a snickering Tsar Aleksei holding chains and the other Peter I beating a Ukrainian woman with his sceptre.

2. *Kievlianin*, *Kievskaia gazeta*, and *Kievskoe slovo* carried no related articles or even a review of the play. The Lviv newspaper *Dilo* ran lead articles on the treaty as Ukraine's tragedy and how Galician Polish newspapers presented the issue (15 [28] and 17 [30] January 1904).

Russian similarities and how Ukraine benefited from political association with Russia. In a "thesis" proclaimed that year an anonymous group of mostly Ukrainian historians headed by Andrii Lykholat depicted the treaty as a voluntary reunion of two fraternal nations. For the next thirty-seven years millions of students throughout the USSR were taught only this particular interpretation of the past.

Eleven years after independence, in March 2002, President Kuchma called for the commemoration of the treaty that marked the beginning of Russian rule in Ukraine. In January 2004 he sat alongside Russia's president at a gala concert in Kyiv celebrating the Treaty of Pereiaslav. Outside, protesters shouted "Putin go home," while others demonstrated nearby in support of "Ukrainian-Russian reunion." On New Year's Day 2004, either by accident or intent, Verka Serdiuchka dominated all Russian and Ukrainian television programs and polled unprecedented high ratings.³ This character, invented by Poltava-born Andrii Danylko, has pop-cult status in Russia and eastern Ukraine. Verka, a naïve, simpleminded woman, sings and speaks in *surzhyk* (a Russian-Ukrainian patois) in a Russian version of the old American minstrel shows. This burlesque character represents a Soviet-type "Little Russian" that audiences find hilarious and some critics condemn as a demeaning stereotype that panders to and reinforces Russian anti-Ukrainian preconceptions.

The treaty's anniversary spawned a number of books and articles dealing with Ukrainian-Russian relations, six of which are reviewed here. Four cover the events of 1654, their significance and interpretation. Two others deal with the last two representatives of the long line of Ukrainian collaborationist leaders that followed the treaty. Together, these books provide insight into the impact of the Russian legacy in Ukraine, the thinking of the country's neo-Soviet political leaders, and the politics of collaboration, historiography, and commemorations.

The book by Rafalsky, a functionary of the Presidential Administration, is a lame attempt to use the legacy the 1654 agreement to justify Kuchma's pro-Russian neo-Soviet policies. The author claims that, because the consequences of the treaty were both unforeseen and unfortunate for Ukraine, Ukrainians today must remember it as their government enters into a new relationship with Russia. Rafalsky pays

3. *Izvestiia*, 10 January 2004; *Den*, 10 January 2004.

little attention to Poland and the European Union and instead sees a future Ukraine as the third member of an anti-European, anti-Asian, Russian-Belarusian "Rus' alliance." President Kuchma's pursuit of this objective, meanwhile, supposedly makes his foreign policy much like Bohdan Khmelnytsky's (p. 186)! In a ridiculous attempt to attach patriotic patina to this desired "alliance," he misrepresents and cites out of context a reference to such a possibility made by the Ukrainian conservative thinker Viacheslav Lypinsky (pp. 188, 199–201). Instead of concluding that people who get burned should not put their fingers into the fire again, Rafalsky claims that past experience will lead Ukrainians to build a better relationship with Russia, similar to that which exists between Canada and the United States (p. 196). He seems to be oblivious to Canada's economic, cultural, and, some argue, even political dependency on the United States, a dependency some call neo-colonialism. Rafalsky includes the 1997 Ukrainian-Russian cooperation treaty in his appendix of twelve documents and approvingly notes that, because Russia ratified it in 1999, Ukraine "did not lean westwards." Then he briefly summarizes the liberal attitudes of Kyiv and Moscow on national issues and claims that the political role of post-imperial nationalism is declining in both countries (p. 194). He does not mention how much of Ukraine's economy and mass media is owned by Russian companies or that Russia and Ukraine both have approximately twelve million of the other's nationals in their countries. Nor does he consider that although Kyiv spends millions if not billions of *karbovantsi* providing for the cultural needs of its Russian-speaking citizens, who in addition enjoy the Russian-language audio-visual products produced by Russian corporations in Russia and Ukraine, Moscow has yet to spend anything on its Ukrainian-speaking citizens, who have little or no access to privately produced Ukrainian-language audio-visual products. "The Year of Ukraine in Russia" came and went in 2003 with not one of Russia's Ukrainian organizations receiving a kopeck of government money, not to mention access to government radio and television. In his conclusion, Rafalsky approvingly quotes Kuchma, who wrote that in 1654 Russia represented the only realistic option for Ukrainians: better to be Russian serfs than Turkish slaves, he claimed (p. 208). Today, however, ex-Turkish slaves are next in line to join the European Union, while fifteen years after independence Ukrainian is still not spoken in Kyiv's streets. How many years after independence did residents of Athens and Sofia continue to speak Turkish?

At an official government-sponsored international conference held in February 2004 in Pereiaslav, most speakers were critical of the treaty and its consequences for Ukraine.⁴ The opposite view dominated the first Congress of the Slavic Peoples of Ukraine, Russia, and Belarus held in Zaporizhzhia in May. In an unsigned statement published two years earlier this shadowy organization declared that it sought to recreate the political and religious unity of the Eastern Slavs within a common financial and economic complex.⁵ The Zaporizhzhia Oblast governor and local business oligarchs, in particular, the notorious local Ukrainophobe Viacheslav Boguslaev, sponsored the conference, which was attended by the Russian patriarch. The meeting opened with official greetings from the Russian, Belarusian, and Ukrainian governments. F. Muravchenko's long speech on the "Jewish-Masonic threat" to the Slavs received repeated thunderous ovations.⁶ Spokesmen called for the integration of the three participating nations and announced the group's intention to back a suitable candidate in the upcoming presidential election in Ukraine. The group got less media coverage than it perhaps expected, however. The day before the conference opening, Ruslana returned to Kyiv and, according to Agence France-Presse, "Ukraine went nuts." Contracted to the recording giant EMI, Ruslana, previously ignored by Ukrainian radio and television and unknown in Russia, had just won the Eurovision song contest. As of November her "Wild Dances" album had legally sold over 250,000 copies in Ukraine alone.⁷

350 years ago dynastic monarchy was a fundamental institution and nations were defined by princes and generals. So when a consecrated

4. M.T. Tovkailo, ed., *Pereiaslavska Rada: Istorychne znachennia ta politychni naslidky* (Kyiv, Prosvita, 2003). See also V.A. Smolii, et al., *Ukraina ta Rosiia: Problemy politychnykh i sotsiokulturnykh vidnosyn* (Kyiv: Instytut istorii NAN Ukrainy, 2003). R.P. Ivanchenko-Ivanova, ed., *Uroky Pereiaslava: Do 350-richchia Moskovsko-Pereiaslavskoi uhody* (Kyiv, 2004) is a collection of critical essays written primarily by university students.

5. "Zaiavlenie sezda slavianskikh narodov Belarusi, Rossii i Ukrainy," *Molodaia gvardiia*, 2002, no. 3: 205–8.

6. "Slavianskii sobor — v stolitse kazachestva," *Industrialnoe Zaporozhe*, 11 May 2004. I am grateful to Fedir Turchenko and Volodymyr Kravchenko for this information. On Boguslaev's dubious activities in support of Yanukovych's candidacy during the presidential elections, see <<http://www.maidan.org.ua/static/news/1101422602.html>> and <<http://www.maidan.org.ua/static/news/1101824923.html>>.

7. Audio and video at <<http://www.keithm.utvinternet.ie/Winners.htm>>.

legitimate ruler in 1654 duly recognized a man with a sword as leader of Cossack Ukraine, the country formally became part of the seventeenth-century European political map. Today nations are defined by pop stars and rock divas, and the Eurovision Song Contest, with an estimated 500 million viewers, represents one of Europe's new fundamental institutions. So when a woman with a microphone won first prize in 2004 she took what can be seen in hindsight as the first step in making her newly independent country part of the twenty-first-century European consciousness. The second step occurred in April when the Ukrainian boxer Vitalii Klichko won the world heavyweight title. The third step took place seven months later when hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians wearing orange colours peacefully showed their support for Viktor Yushchenko.

Russian capital controls or owns as much as eighty percent of Ukraine's economy while Ukrainian-born neo-Soviet Russophile oligarchs control approximately ninety percent of its communications network, a fact that explains why Russian still predominates in Ukraine's media. At least half of the country's Orthodox faithful are subject to the Russian patriarch in Moscow, not to the Ukrainian patriarch in Kyiv, and Kuchma allowed clergy who formally owe allegiance to a foreign national and do not recognize the existence of a Ukrainian nationality to teach religion in government ministries and serve as chaplains in the army. In an encyclopedia sponsored by the Russian Orthodox Church the entry for Little Russia (*Malorossiiia*) explains that "Ukrainian" is a term invented by "Russia's enemies" and popularized after 1917 by "Jewish Bolsheviks." The entry for the Pereiaslav Council says that it "reunified the Russian nation."⁸

Against this background many condemned Kuchma's intention to commemorate the 350th anniversary of the Pereiaslav Treaty as an attempt to justify and celebrate Ukrainian dependency on Russia by reanimating the "thesis." Later events seemed only to confirm apprehensions about the intentions of Russia and Ukraine's neo-Soviet Russophile elite. In April 2004 the government took Ukraine into the Russian-dominated Single Economic Space, and in May a "New Iron Curtain" descended on the Polish-Ukrainian border. Throughout the year Putin paid

8. O.A. Platonov, ed., *Sviataia Rus': Bolshaia entsiklopediia russkago naroda*, vol. 3, *Russkoe gosudarstvo* (Moscow: Pravoslavnoe izdatelstvo, 2002), 481, 613. The entry on Ukraine explains that the name is intended "to Polonize and Germanize the Russian people" (829).

official visits to Ukraine, business leaders called for more Ukrainian-Russian joint ventures, the volume of Ukrainian-Russian bilateral trade increased substantially, and Kuchma called for an eastward reorientation of foreign policy. The role of Russian financing and “political technicians” in Ukraine’s presidential election hearkened to the nefarious activities of Russian envoys in 1654. Whereas the former added the dead to voting lists and then used them to pad returns in favour of Yanukovych, the latter travelled the country enrolling the dead on lists of the tsar’s sworn subjects. Yanukovych’s dealings with Putin before the presidential elections brought to mind Hetman Briukhovetsky’s discussions with Tsar Aleksei in 1665.

In reaction to the government’s initiative to celebrate 1654 some historians refused to do anything at all on the grounds that even a critical public discussion of the treaty would legitimize its commemoration. After all, the only bad publicity is no publicity. Others, spearheaded by the Archeographical Institute at the Academy of Sciences, organized “counter-conferences.”⁹ Some historians from this group compiled *Pereiaslavska rada 1654 roku*. Funded in part by the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies and released just before the planned celebrations, this collection of almost a thousand pages was published in 5,000 copies in a country where specialized academic studies rarely exceed 2,000 copies. Part 1 contains previously published articles that are critical of the treaty and tsarist and Soviet interpretations of it. Some of these articles are bibliographical rarities. Particularly valuable are the analytical studies by Hrushevsky, Oleksander Ohloblyn, Andrii Iakovliv, and Mykhailo Braichevsky. Six articles in part 2 summarize most of the Russian-, Ukrainian-, Polish-, and English-language historiography on the treaty and another five examine related events. The book shows that, despite differences over details, modern historians of the treaty belong to one of two groups. The first, which includes most, but not all, Russian historians, depicts the treaty as an expression of religious and/or national “forces” that drove the two Orthodox peoples with similar languages and customs into union or reunion in a single state and that in the long run this benefited both sides. The second group, which consists mostly, but

9. For a list of conferences and publications initiated by national-democrats, see Ia. Fedoruk, “Diialnist orhkomitetu konferentsii ‘Pereiaslavska rada 1654 r.,’ (vybrana bibliohrafiia vidhukiv),” *Moloda Ukraina*, 2005, no. 1: 299–319. Conspicuously absent from this initiative was the Institute of History under Valerii Smolii.

not only, of Ukrainians, depicts the treaty as a political event that reflected the interests of the two signatories. Its long-term costs outweighed its short-term benefits as it had negative consequences for Ukraine. The latter view was echoed in an authoritative full-page newspaper article released at the end of January by Ukraine's National Institute of Strategic Research.¹⁰

Although there is a free consensus of Ukrainian historians on the latter view, it is not shared by the entire population. Among some "the imperial and Soviet variants of the pan-Russian (Eastern Slavic) interpretation [persist]. Their major representatives are primarily social activists, left inclined politicians, and more than a few history teachers, whom the local party-ideological activists in Soviet times regarded as their reserve" (p. 519). The idea that the Pereiaslav Treaty represented "Russian-Ukrainian unity" is a product of tsarist historiography. It was reiterated in the 1954 CPSU "thesis" and still lingers today. Schools in Russia still teach this idea and Russians can still declare publicly without fear of ridicule that there are no differences between Ukrainians and Russians and that their two countries should "reunite."¹¹

Perhaps because the editors had less than two years to compile this necessary and important anthology they could not produce a definitive book on the subject. *Pereiaslavska rada* has no bibliography, no examination of popular memory about 1654, and no history of the treaty's commemorations. Articles overlap. Ukrainian-language articles cite English-language items not in the article devoted to English-language historiography, and there is no chapter on French-, German-, and Latin-language historiography. While the editors briefly note the importance of the political-intellectual context (pp. vii–x), not all of the authors in part 2 devote sufficient attention to it. No one examines the interrelationship between Russian historians of the Juridical School, who, in the twenty years before the revolution, produced some of the best scholarship on Pereiaslav, and the need of tsarist officials and Russian political leaders

10. A. Halchynsky, et al., "Uhoda 1654 roku: Istorychni uroky dlia ukrainskoho narodu," *Den*, 31 January 2004; also published separately as *Pereiaslavska uhoda 1654 roku: Istorychni uroky dlia ukrainskoho narodu* (Kyiv: Natsionalnyi instytut stratehichnykh doslidzhen, 2004).

11. Russian anti-Ukrainian opinion is summarized and discussed in O.P. Lanovenko, ed., *Ukraina-Rosiia: Kontseptualni osnovy humanitarnykh vidnosyn* (Kyiv: Stylos, 2001), 264–318, 340–70.

at the time to deal with Polish, Finnish, and Ukrainian national demands. Finally, the book has no analysis of the 1954 CPSU "thesis," nor does it mention the role of Ukrainian Soviet historians in formulating it. Three relevant studies are not noted: my "The Origins of the Soviet Interpretation of Eastern Slavic History. A Case Study in Policy Formulation," in *Forschungen zur osteuropäischen Geschichte* 46 (1990): 221–53; Natalia Iusova, "Heneza kontseptu 'davnoruska narodnist' uadianskii istorichnii nauksi," *Ukrainskyi istorichnyi zhurnal*, 2001, no. 6: 65–85; and Serhy Yekelchuk, *Stalin's Empire of Memory: Russian-Ukrainian Relations in the Soviet Historical Imagination* (2004), which is based on his 2000 doctoral dissertation and was in press when the collection was being compiled. Iurii Mytsyk's seminal study, "Dovkola 'arkhivu Pereiaslavskoi rady': Mify ta realii dzherelnoi bazy," inexplicably appears separately in *Arkhiv Ukrainy*, 2003, nos. 4–6: 11–23.

The second anthology, *Pereiaslavska rada ochyma istorykiv, movoiu dokumentiv* includes fifteen previously published documents relating to the treaty, excerpts about it from five seventeenth- and eighteenth-century chronicles, and sixteen articles by modern historians. All but two of the articles and excerpts are shortened, and four (Viacheslav Lypynsky, Hrushevsky, Braichevsky, and Rostyslav Lashchenko) appear also in the preceding anthology. Unlike that anthology, this one contains two examples of non-nationalist Russian treatments of the subject (Venedikt Miakotin and Rozenfeld). The editors' explicit purpose was to popularize the Ukrainian national interpretation of the Pereiaslav Treaty and to counter the imperial and Soviet interpretation of the treaty as an "eternal reunion," which is current in Ukraine today (p. 18).

Particularly useful in this collection are the articles by Iurii Mytsyk, Olena Apanovych, and Volodymyr Horobets, which show how Muscovite and Ukrainian interests began to diverge within months of the signing of the treaty, as each side realized it was getting more than it had bargained for. Also noteworthy is the editors' dating of the transformation of the Pereiaslav Treaty from political act to historical myth. The turning point came in 1659, two years after Khmelnytsky had died. In their attempt to legitimize the restrictive conditions, which amounted to annexation, they had imposed on his son that year, the Muscovite envoys claimed that the new terms were those of 1654 and they published the 1659 terms as a booklet for broader dissemination (p. 18). The editors might have added that, although the idea of the Pereiaslav Treaty as an Eastern Slavic "reunion" can be found in written documents from the second half of the

seventeenth century, it appeared rarely. Originating among pro-Russian Ukrainian Muscophile clerics and pro-Ukrainian Russian Graecophiles who defended the Ukrainian-Russian alliance against its opponents in Moscow, Kyiv, and Chyhyryn, the reunion idea, like the word "eternal," was a rhetorical device rather than a part of a legitimizing theory that motivated action. The notion of reunion entered Russian national historiography in the nineteenth century, but the editors are guilty of oversimplification when they claim that it was formulated on government orders (p. 18).

Poland was Cossack Ukraine's major enemy 350 years ago. In November 1654 Polish armies under Stefan Czarniecki conducted a savage campaign in Ukraine. Today the Polish government is one of Ukraine's strongest supporters. In November 2004 it was the first European government to reject the falsified election returns and Lech Wałęsa came to Kyiv to show his support for Viktor Yushchenko. Poland has more centres of Ukrainian studies than any other country in the world and Polish *ukrainoznawstwo* is second to none. During the 1990s Polish scholars published more academic books about Ukraine than Ukrainian scholars and this despite the fact that the average Pole regards Ukrainians in much the same terms as the average German sees Poles.¹² It should not be surprising, therefore, that a Polish scholar wrote a succinct and useful analysis of the events associated with 1654 and 2004.¹³

Gil begins with theoretical observations concerning the difficulty faced by new governments ruling societies without a single shared identity in choosing events to commemorate. He describes the events and interpretations of the Pereiaslav Treaty and then summarizes reactions to the government's decision to commemorate it. He observes that in 1996 Kuchma declared that in his mind the treaty is associated with Ukrainian independence. In the same speech Kuchma also recognized that tsarist policy was directed at "destroying the Ukrainian state and turning it into a Russian imperial colony."¹⁴ It could be argued, therefore, that the government intended to use the anniversary to buttress the idea of

12. The majority in both countries is either hostile or indifferent towards their eastern neighbours. (L. Kolarska-Bobińska, ed., *Obraz Polski i Polaków w Europie* [Warsaw: Instytut Spraw Publicznych, 2003], 211, 214, 287, 295).

13. See also his "Pereiaslavska rada 1654 roku ta ii vplyv na suchasnu Ukrainu," *Moloda natsiia: Almanakh*, no. 3 (2003): 15–39.

14. L. Kuchma, "Dopovid na urochystykh zborakh z nahody 400-richchia vid dnia narodzhennia Bohdana Khmelnytskoho," *Ukrainskyi istorychnyi zhurnal*, 1996, no. 4: 9.

Ukrainian independence. Nonetheless, Gil continues, that is not how many would understand the initiative. Those with pan-Russian or Eastern Slavic sympathies would interpret the commemoration as an official confirmation of their pro-Russian attitudes. Western Ukrainian (Uniate) Catholics could take exception to an official national celebration of an anti-Uniate social group (Cossacks) that had never inhabited their territories. Then Gil speculates that these diverse reactions could accent divisions within Ukraine, re-animate latent anti-Polish sentiments and even sour the country's relations with Poland (pp. 37, 48–9). Fortunately, he was wrong, as ceremonies and reactions were muted. Planned events for 2004 did not include a commemoration of the 435th anniversary of the 1569 Union of Lublin, which, Gil mistakenly thinks, Ukrainians, like Poles, consider a model of national co-existence (p. 51), nor of the 345th anniversary of the 1659 Hadiach Treaty, which made Cossack Ukraine the third part of a confederated Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. I have been unable to determine whether Ukraine sent official greetings to Poland in connection with the 210th anniversary of Kosciuszko's unsuccessful revolt against the Russians. There is no indication that the Kuchma-Medvedchuk government sent greetings to Moscow on the anniversary of the Russian victory: presumably, official neo-Soviet Ukrainian Russophilism has limits.

Ukraine's political history from 1659 to 1991 involved collaborationist elites. Marxists labeled such people in Third World colonies "comprador bourgeoisie." Exiled opponents who regarded any form of service under foreign rule as treason, denounced such collaborators as careerists, sycophants, and traitors. Analysts and historians, who are more tolerant of those not prepared to suffer exile, unemployment, or imprisonment in the name of abstract ideals distinguish types of collaboration. In Ukraine, men like Ivan Briukhovetsky and Pavlo Sudoplatov, for whom the interests and commands of the centre overrode all local concerns and who obeyed above and beyond the demands of self-interest or pragmatism, exemplify one type. Figures like Pavlo Polubotok and Mykola Skrypnyk represent another type. Occupying a grey middle ground, to the disgust of the exiled opponents of Russian rule, and never fully trusted by their Russian overlords, they tried to reconcile local interests with orders from the centre.

Had the Communists been defeated and subsequently executed or exiled, the post-1991 government would not have preserved symbols and memories of the country's Russian and Soviet connection, like the Pereiaslav Treaty, in Ukraine's national legacy. In all probability the government would have ignored what happened in 1654. But in 1989 old

collaborationist administrators became rulers and, as Mykola Riabchuk observed, one of their political survival tactics was to sponsor a "post-Communist eclecticism" in public commemorations; an amalgam of selected Soviet and non-Soviet events and persons, many of which were previously considered incompatible. The problem Ukraine's neo-Soviet leaders faced was common enough, although their solution was not, as can be illustrated by the example of Ireland.

The two fundamental acts that defined Ireland's subordination to England were the Treaty of Windsor (1125) and the Act of Union (1801). The Anglo-Irish Treaty (1921) established the Irish Free State, but nationalists then fought a civil war over the terms of settlement. The republic's second president, William Cosgrave, represented the moderates and was not very popular. Satirists caricatured him as a British lackey, and he tolerated official Irish presence at British commemorations of the dead of the First World War in London, which the nationalists boycotted as symbols of imperialism. But it is difficult to imagine that Cosgrave, had he remained in office long enough, would have issued a formal statement in 1925 or 1931 on commemorating the 800th or 130th anniversary of the mentioned agreements, proclaimed a year of Anglo-Irish friendship, or attended a gala concert in Dublin with the British prime minister. During the first decades of the Irish Free State the political leaders realized that, because their respective factions drew legitimacy from rival interpretations of history, all commemorations would be tainted by politics and would be counterproductive. Accordingly, they were cautious in officially commemorating events and persons. When they did commemorate something it would be a shared episode that would reconcile all parties.¹⁵

Will Kuchma's selection of events and persons for commemoration reconcile the opposed sides? The celebrated events and persons ostensibly balanced the pro-Russian or pro-Soviet sympathies of some of the population with the anti-Soviet national sympathies of others: the Year of Russia in Ukraine was offset by the commemoration of the 1933 Famine.¹⁶ The

15. D. Fitzpatrick, "Commemoration in the Irish Free State," in *History and Memory in Modern Ireland*, ed. I. McBride (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 203. For a social analysis of official commemorations, see W.M. Johnston, *Celebrations: The Cult of Anniversaries in Europe and the United States Today* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Publishers, 1991).

16. Only future historians will be able to tell us if those who organized the Year of

government did not impose an "official interpretation" and allowed teachers to teach the interpretation of Pereiaslav accepted by Ukrainian historians. It built statues to Hrushevsky, but did not demolish those to Lenin. The government did not officially commemorate the 750th anniversary of the crowning of King Danylo of Halych (in 2003), the seventieth anniversary of Mykola Skrypnyk's death (in 2003), the 125th anniversary of Symon Petliura's birth (in 2004), or the 85th anniversary of the founding of the Ukrainian SSR (in 2004).¹⁷ On 22 January 2004 it officially commemorated the 85th anniversary of the union of Western and Eastern Ukraine into a single state, but that same day government-run television broadcast a sympathetic documentary about Lenin. In June 2004 the Russian, Ukrainian, and Belarusian presidents attended the Soviet-era Youth Friendship Day Festival in Chernihiv Oblast and laid wreaths to commemorate the "victims of fascism." They did not commemorate the "victims of communism." A book on the Second World War came out in two different versions: in one the introduction explicitly states that, contrary to the opinion of some people, the editors consider OUN-UPA members hired collaborators of Nazi Germany.¹⁸ In the other, these sentences do not appear. Yanukovych sent official greetings to the Slavic peoples meeting in Zaporizhzhia. Four years ago, as head of Donetsk Oblast, he wrote an introduction to a local history of the Soviet secret police (Cheka-NKVD-KGB) in which he praised these organizations for defending "our nation's interests" and for "faithful service to Ukraine's state and people."¹⁹ In 2003 the government celebrated the 85th anniversary of Volodymyr Shcherbytsky's birth. It named a street in Dnipropetrovsk after him and placed his grave on the main avenue at Baikove Cemetery, thus inducting him into the new national pantheon. It did

Russia in Ukraine in 2003 hoped to distract public attention from the seventieth anniversary of the 1933 Famine. The "Year of Russia" web-site (www.russia.org.ua) does not even have a passing reference to the Famine. It includes a number of surveys designed to indicate popular sympathy for Russia.

17. The Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic was proclaimed in January 1919. Until then the Bolsheviks in Moscow formally considered the Bolsheviks in Kharkiv as the "legitimate" government of the Ukrainian National Republic, which they recognized, not as leaders of a different territorial unit that did not include the Donbas, Crimea, or the northern Black Sea coast.

18. I.O. Herasymov et al., eds., *Bezsmertia: Knyha pamiati Ukrainy 1941–1945* (Kyiv: Knyha Pamiati Ukrainy, 2000), 8.

19. V. Zuev and I. Kulaha, *Orhany derzhavnoi bezpeky v Donetskii oblasti* (Donetsk, 2000).

not celebrate the 95th anniversary of Petro Shelest's birth. In short, although Ukraine's neo-Soviet authorities do commemorate select non-Soviet and non-Russian aspects of the past, the past they favour is represented by Soviet-era collaborators of the Briukhovetsky-Sudoplatov tradition.

A few months after the Shcherbytsky anniversary celebration, Iurii Shapoval's anthology on Shelest appeared. Published in 2,000 copies, the book is invaluable to historians of Ukraine and Soviet politics. It has three parts. The first contains Shelest's complete memoirs and diary, which supercedes the shorter Russian edition of 1995. The second part contains a selection of eighty-one previously unpublished documents from the years 1964 through 1973 and the official condemnation of Shelest's book *Ukraino nasha radianska*. Part three contains a series of interviews with and about Shelest. This anthology provides insights into important events in Ukraine during the 1960s, as well as into the prerogatives of republican first secretaries and their relationship with the central leaders. It will disappoint readers interested in Soviet leaders' private lives. The most intriguing personal detail it contains is that Shelest liked milk. On one long trip his wife had a freight wagon with a cow and a supply of hay attached to his train (p. 727).

Shelest wanted more autonomy for republics within a decentralized USSR, and a union between Ukraine and Russia, rather than independence. In a conversation with Zbigniew Brzezinski on the day Ukraine declared independence he said: "I don't know whether I should rejoice because today my country became independent or grieve because my second country, the one I served my whole life, has disappeared" (pp. 246, 705, 750, 754). While using Ukrainian in speeches, Shelest spoke Russian at home with his family (pp. 749, 763). He saw positive elements in Stalin's rule. He opposed the Czech reforms of 1967–68, and perhaps advocated, and definitely supported, the 1968 invasion of Czechoslovakia²⁰ (pp. 252, 282, 300, 316). Shelest was in fact the intermediary who relayed the letter of the pro-Soviet Czech Communists asking for military intervention to Brezhnev. Vasil Bilak slipped it to him surreptitiously in a public washroom in Bratislava on 3 August (p. 278).

20. In his diary Shelest does not explicitly say that he called for intervention and claims that his support was reluctant and critical. His remarks at the time implicitly advocated armed intervention (M. Kramer, "Ukraine and the Czecho-Slovak Crisis of 1968 (Part 2): New Evidence from the Ukrainian Archives," *Cold War International History Project Bulletin*, nos. 14–15 [Spring 2004]: 276–327).

Yet, he counseled moderation in dealing with intellectuals who criticized the party during the sixties. He referred to them as "hotheads" and "Don Quixotes," who threaten to hinder "our common struggle," by which he meant greater autonomy for Ukraine (pp. 222, 237, 714). He had nothing to do with the arrests in 1970–73 (pp. 310, 328–9, 764, 728). He had the courage to tell Suslov to his face to stop condemning the Ukrainian Cossacks as it was only thanks to their military prowess in Turko-Tatar wars that Suslov was sitting in his Kremlin office (p. 6).

The anthology on Shcherbytsky appeared within weeks of Shapoval's book. Sponsored and funded by the government with public money, it was published in 5,000 copies and the editors mentioned a forthcoming Russian-language edition. The money was channeled through the Volodymyr V. Shcherbytsky Ukrainian Statehood Benevolent Fund, which really exists, much like the Qaddafi Human Rights Award.²¹ It is also worth noting that in the Pereiaslav jubilee year Ukraine's neo-Soviet Russophile elite celebrated itself as well as its former patron in a book sponsored by the General Military Union of Ukraine, which is linked with the secret police. Published in 5,000 copies on bond paper in Ukrainian and bad English, the book's first thirty-seven pages contain five colour photos of Kuchma, fifteen of Yanukovych, twenty-two of its editor, and singles of other stalwarts—few of them have anything to do with Arabia.²² This volume, like *Volodymyr Shcherbytsky*, the first version of *Bezsmertia*, *Orhany derzhavnoi bezpeky*, and Kuchma's collected works in two volumes, was published "privately" and was unobtainable in bookstores—much like high-brow pornography a century ago.

The first part of the Shcherbytsky anthology contains a selection of reminiscences. Most are hagiographic and portray Volodia as a jolly good fellow. These will appeal to the same kind of people that in the 1930s thought Adolf was a jolly good fellow because he liked dogs and cream-cakes. One of them tells us that Shcherbytsky never spoke Ukrainian

21. In what turned out to be my last correspondence with James Mace, I asked him if he had heard of this book or the organization with the oxymoronic name that had paid for it. I was curious who was behind the fund and if it was legal. He replied that he had never heard of the book or the organization, whose name absolutely flabbergasted him. Even if it was a money-laundering front, he said, the situation in Ukraine was such that no one would care.

22. O. Kalashnikov, ed., *Ukraina-Arabskyi svit* (Kyiv, 2004). There is no picture of Ukraine's foremost Arabic scholar Ahatanhel Krymsky.

because as a "delicate" and unassuming man he was ashamed of his Russicisms (p. 94). Some of the reminiscences contradict others found in the Shapoval anthology. Borys Paton, for instance, claims that Shcherbytsky did not try to dismiss Vitalii, Shelest's son, from his job at the Academy of Sciences after his father was dismissed (p. 32). Vitalii's mother said Shcherbytsky tried but failed (Shapoval, p. 734).

The second part contains a shortened Ukrainian translation of an earlier defence of Shcherbytsky published in Russian by his former aide, the powerful and feared Vitalii Vrublevsky.²³ This former Communist tells the reader what he thinks of Shcherbytsky in the opening pages: "Volodymyr Shcherbytsky was a leader sent by God" (p. 378). If that was so, then Ukrainians mindful of their nation's sufferings in the twentieth century might well raise their eyes and ask why? Those not inclined to defer to the Almighty might prefer other, secular verdicts: "the balance between the positive and the negative in Shcherbytsky's behaviour is definitely not on the side of the former." Shcherbytsky was "the last of the Mohicans," who either could not or did not want to know that the system was bankrupt and heading towards catastrophe.²⁴ The Russian Vladimir Semichastny, a former head of the KGB, said that "Shcherbytsky won because he was closer to Brezhnev than Petr Efimovich [Shelest].... Shcherbytsky was a devoted Brezhnevite lickspittle [*kholui*]. He never objected even to Brezhnev's stupidest proposals.... There was not one ministry under Shcherbytsky where the minister or deputy was not from Dnipropetrovsk.... The Moscow joke about the new periodization of Russian history was incarnated in Ukraine [where] the pre-Petrine [Shelest] period was followed by the Petrine and the Dnipropetrine periods" (Shapoval, pp. 725, 729–30). Shelest for his part was contemptuous of Shcherbytsky, whom he considered a fawning careerist of the worst sort, all too willing to do Brezhnev's bidding. Why do we neglect our own nation's culture, Shelest asked. "Only dullards and traitors to their own people can do this.... Shcherbytsky is this kind of person.... Such people in the halls of power are dangerous to their own nation" (Shapoval, p. 325; see also: pp. 219, 247, 356, 383, 393, 408).

Vrublevsky depicts Scherbytsky as a modest family-man with simple wants. A patriot who loved his mother and cared about the common people.

23. Vladimir Shcherbitsky: *Pravda i vymysly: Zapiski pomoshchnika, vospominaniia, dokumenty, slukhi, legendy, fakty* (Kyiv: Dovira, 1993).

24. D. Tabachnyk, "Apostol zastoiiu," *Vitchyzna*, 1992, no. 11: 122.

His basic theme is that Shcherbytsky was responsible for everything "good" that happened in Ukraine. For example, he ensured that the restored Golden Gates of Kyiv were topped with a cross, passed environmental legislation, and restored the Kyiv Opera House (pp. 511, 524, 547). When in 1986, Boris Yeltsin, first secretary of the Moscow city party organization, asked Shcherbytsky to send him 40,000 calves so that Russians could have some choice meat for the holiday season, Shcherbytsky called him a hothead and refused to "pander to someone's ambition at the cost of [our] republic" (p. 411). Vroblevsky approves of this action but does not tell us whether Moscow's first secretaries normally gave orders to republic first secretaries. Nor does he compare the two men to give insight into the scope of the possible and a context for judging.

Shcherbytsky, we learn, showed his concern for the people by checking from his desk if there was meat, milk, and butter in the shops. He showed his concern for academics by maintaining cordial relations with the president of the Academy of Sciences and, contrary to Tabachnyk's claim,²⁵ did not provide relatives or supporters with academic sinecures (pp. 423, 502–04). When Yeltsin assumed the job of first secretary in Moscow, he plunged into a frenzy of activity, exposing the sloth, corruption, ineptitude, venality, thievery, and lying that pervaded the Soviet system and within a few months arrested over 800 officials and staff. To bring food to tables he set-up *iarmarki*, where producers sold produce directly to consumers and bypassed the inept retail system. He publicly criticized the hated nomenklatura distribution system and began closing its special stores. To improve research and scholarship he tried to break the well-connected mafia of surplus intellectuals, most of whom spent their days in cynical idleness, joking, reading *samizdat*, flirting, and shopping during working hours. These anti-Communist party members, who were masters of evasion, produced nothing but useless reams of printed paper. Yeltsin tried to get rid of this academic dead weight, but within a year all his initiatives had petered out and everything went back to the way it was before.²⁶ Did Shcherbytsky try nothing similar because he knew it would fail or because Ukraine did not have similar problems? Vrublevsky does not say.²⁷

25. *Ibid.*, 121.

26. L. Aron, *Yeltsin: A Revolutionary Life* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000), 131–217.

27. In the Russian version of his book Vrublevsky noted, in a passage omitted from the

In a section on the economy Vrublevsky draws attention to the negative consequences of Ukraine's subordination to central ministries. He claims that Shcherbytsky was sometimes infuriated by Moscow's dictates and tried to defend Ukraine's interests, but he provides no convincing examples of how his patron used the limited prerogatives²⁸ of his republic towards that end except that he gave an implicit instruction to surreptitiously ignore Andropov's anti-alcoholism campaign because it led to the destruction of vineyards and substantially lower tax revenues (pp. 497–500). In the final analysis, Vrublevsky concludes, Ukraine benefited economically from its association with Russia because it got back in finished goods and military spending what it lost in food exports. In particular, Ukraine benefited from the Soviet prices it paid for coal and gas, which were substantially lower than world prices (p. 510). He does not point out that had Moscow not squandered Ukrainian coal and gas in supplying the rest of the USSR and Eastern Europe during the Stalin years, Ukraine would not have had to buy energy in the last decades of the century. The claim that an absolute decline in Ukrainian production begins only after Shcherbytsky's death in 1991 (p. 510) is false. National income and industrial and agricultural production started declining in 1985.²⁹

Since Vrublevsky does not include footnotes or a bibliography in his work, and there are no detailed studies of the period, it is difficult to judge his case. But, as with the reminiscences in part 1, when we compare some of his claims with those in Shapoval's anthology or with accounts by others, serious omissions and divergences emerge.³⁰

Ukrainian version, that under Shcherbytsky the scale of corruption and graft in Ukraine was less and more controlled than elsewhere in the USSR (cf. 158).

28. These prerogatives are listed in I.S. Koropec'kyj, *Development in the Shadow: Studies in Ukrainian Economics* (Edmonton: CUIS Press, 1990), 139–49.

29. *Ukraina u tsyfrakh u 1993 rotsi* (Kyiv: Tekhnika, 1994), 4, 6. Similarly, Vrublevsky provides a chart (506–7) illustrating that under Shcherbytsky Ukraine produced more foodstuffs per capita than the United States or France, without explaining that it also harvested and processed much less than those countries. A sentence about the failure of the bureaucratic system to reduce waste found in the Russian book (155) is not in the Ukrainian edition.

30. Tabachnyk, "Apostol zastoju"; Ya. Bilinsky, "Shcherbytsky and Kremlin Politics," *Problems of Communism* 32 (July–August 1983): 1–20; M. Beissinger, "Ethnicity, the Personnel Weapon, and Neo-imperial Integration: Ukrainian and RSFSR Provincial Party Officials Compared," *Studies in Comparative Communism*, 1998, no. 1: 71–85.

Vrublevsky omits mentioning, for instance, that thanks to Shcherbytsky, the Ukrainian party in the 1980s had the highest percentage ever of ethnic Ukrainian members. Beissinger noted that this means that Ukrainians policed Ukrainians. Other observers routinely drew attention to the importance of Shcherbytsky's links with Brezhnev, the powerful Dnipropetrovsk party organization, and his recommendation, if not actual choice, of the men directly responsible for the arrests and repressions of 1972–78, Vitalii Fedorchuk and Valentyn Malanchuk. Vrublevsky plays down the importance of his former boss's personal and territorial links and his status within the Brezhnev group. Suslov sent Fedorchuk and Malanchuk, Vrublevsky claims, and Shcherbytsky's relationship with him was "complicated" (pp. 405, 408, 475, 478, 516, 518). According to Vrublevsky, Shcherbytsky refused Moscow's offers of promotion, fired Malanchuk as soon as he could because he disliked Malanchuk, and supported the cultural-literary elite after 1978 because he was concerned about Ukrainian culture (pp. 413–15, 481, 518–25). Bilinsky claims that Moscow refused to give Shcherbytsky his much desired promotion. Faced with the impossibility of rising higher, he decided to make his peace with the literary-cultural elite and eased repressions. This included firing Malanchuk. Vrublevsky (pp. 549–58) writes that Shcherbytsky could do nothing to stop the Chernobyl Power Station from being built and that after the accident he could do only what Moscow allowed. Apparently he let the May Day parade to go on as scheduled because Gorbachev had threatened to expel him from party if he did not (p. 553). Tabachnyk tells us that Shcherbytsky did what he could to ensure that the Chornobyl plant was built.

Vrublevsky admits that Shcherbytsky did not consider national issues important, and that this was "bad" for Ukraine. The root cause of the malaise was a wrong party line that led to local leaders struggling too zealously against "local nationalism," and to central leaders ignoring the struggle against "great-power chauvinism" (pp. 486–7, 491–2). He then assures us that through Shcherbytsky's incumbency his attitude towards Ukrainian national issues was changing and that had he lived, he would have supported independence as his successors did (pp. 494–5, 518). Presumably Vrublevsky considers the Ukrainian party's last Soviet-era leader Stanislav Hurenko's statement of August 1991 a minority opinion: "Today we will vote for Ukrainian independence, because if we don't we're in shit."

Vrublevsky blames the system, hyper-centralization, or just history, for what was “bad” in Soviet Ukraine under his patron (pp. 403, 412, 414, 493, 499, 549, 553). He blames Moscow for the arrests and repression in Ukraine after 1973 and Shelest for the earlier arrests and repressions (p. 401). His basic argument is that Shcherbytsky and his associates were a lesser evil. As pragmatic realists they realized that they could do nothing, so they did nothing, and thus saved Ukraine from worse leaders (pp. 490–1, 516–7). They were men of their time, who just followed orders. In his 1993 book, however, Vrublevsky made an important judgment that he later omitted from the shortened 2003 version. He claimed that if Ukraine was Moscow’s colony and its leaders Kremlin puppets, then it makes little sense to expect them to have behaved like leaders of an independent state. “Their behaviour befit their circumstances” (p. 216). If Vrublevsky and his ilk believe this, then we should reasonably expect them to use the Shcherbytsky Fund to publish a series of books celebrating all of Ukraine’s first secretaries beginning with Piatakov and Gopner and including Shelest. A puppet is a puppet. But there is no hint of such a project. It seems, therefore, that all puppets are not the same and that in Vrublevsky’s eyes Shcherbytsky-type collaborators suited the circumstances better than Shelest-type collaborators.

This kind of reasoning influenced some Ukrainian historians. Blaming Russia for Ukraine’s problems, they write that “Shelest treated [his] republic’s interests as primary,” and equivocate in dealing with collaborators like Shcherbytsky. In an ostensibly authoritative six-volume political history of twentieth-century Ukraine released last year, it took five people to write the chapter covering the sixties, seventies, and eighties. Using Vrublevsky as a source, they claim that because Shcherbytsky had “the traits of a patriot of Ukraine,” he tried to defend the interests of “Ukraine’s people.” They assess him as a lesser evil without saying what the greater evil might have been. But seventy pages later they write: “The servility of Ukraine’s authorities [under Shcherbytsky] resulted in colossal human, material, spiritual, and cultural losses for Ukraine.”³¹

31. I.F. Kuras et al., eds., *Politychna istoriia Ukrainy XX stolittia u shesty tomakh* (Kyiv: Heneza, 2003), 6: 223–7, 293. The authors do not actually give any examples of what precisely Shcherbytsky did to “successfully defend the interests of the republic.” Moscow rejected his June 1989 request that it stop building more nuclear power stations in Ukraine.

Shcherbytsky's appointees did not fight in defence of the old order. They survived the transition, formed "clans" and became the political-economic elite in 1991. Since then the Kyiv, Donetsk, and Dnipropetrovsk clans have been keeping Ukraine Soviet, although not as successfully as their Belarusian friends. Unlike their Belarusian counterparts, they have had to contend with a strong national-cultural elite and a popular majority that considers itself Ukrainian rather than Soviet, Russian, Eastern Slavic, or "local." According to a 2000 survey, while thirty-eight percent of Ukraine's population consider themselves Russian or Soviet, sixty-six percent consider themselves Ukrainian. Fifty-two percent speak Ukrainian at home, fifty-three percent belong to a Ukrainian national church, twenty-five to thirty percent of the Orthodox faithful do not recognize the Russian patriarch, and thirty-three percent think that the collapse of the USSR was good for Ukraine.³² Ukraine's Neo-Soviet Russophile leaders recognized persons and events forbidden in Soviet times, without dispensing with the Russian-unity rhetoric and Soviet or Russian commemorations that pleased some of their likeminded co-nationals.

Others were not pleased. On the academic level, for instance, two Russophile historians have claimed that the government's post-1991 Ukrainian history textbooks are too "anti-Russian." In their opinion, these textbooks were sponsored by "descendants of Suslov and Zhdanov," whose "maniacal" obsession with power led them to exploit Ukrainian nationalism, which they had condemned previously when they were Soviet functionaries. Assuming that the Ukrainian and Russian pasts constitute a single national history, the two authors claim that those who share their opinion are ideologically "unengaged," while their opponents are engaged and biased. The only text-book they praise is "written in the spirit of the Soviet historiographical tradition."³³ On the popular level,

32. A. Kolodii, "Radianska identychnist ta ii nosii v nezalezhnii Ukraini," in *Ukraina v suchasnomu sviti: Konferentsiia vypusnykiv prohram naukovoho stazhuvannia u SShA*, ed. O.V. Haran et al. (Kyiv: Stylos, 2003), 38, 39. Those who consider themselves Ukrainian are almost equally divided between those who agree and disagree. On average three times more Russians and Soviets think that the collapse of the USSR was bad than think it was good (50).

33. L. Moisienkova and P. Martsinkovskii, "Rossiia v ukrainskikh uchebnikakh istorii," in *Rossiia i strany Baltii, Tsentralnoi i Vostochnoi Evropy, Iuzhnogo Kavkaza, Tsentralnoi Azii: Starye i novye obrazy v sovremennykh uchebnikakh istorii: Nauchnye doklady i soobshcheniia*, ed. F. Bomsdorf and G. Bordiugov (Moscow: Fond Fridrikha Naumanna,

there is a front organization of the Ukrainian Communist Party named the All-Ukrainian Union of Descendants of Bohdan Khmelnytsky. Headed by the party leaders Petro Symonenko and Leonid Grach, this association condemns the "global financial oligarchy" and its plans to subordinate Ukraine to "Euro-Atlantic civilization." In July 2003 it awarded prizes to ten Russian and Ukrainian high-school students who had won its competition for the best essays on the topic, "Ukraine + Russia = Love." In March 2004 it awarded another set of prizes for a high-school student essay competition on "the significance of the 350th anniversary of the Pereiaslav Council and its role in strengthening and developing the friendship of the Ukrainian and Russian nations." The themes in the competition announcements and the winning essays reflect the ideas of the 1954 "thesis."³⁴

On the very fringe of Ukraine's society a group of latter-day Little Russians and Russian nationalist extremists claims there is no such thing as a Ukrainian nationality, only a Little Russian branch of the Russian nation. These people attach no significance to Kyiv's official Ukrainian-Russian unity rhetoric and ignore critical interpretations of Ukrainian-Russian relations.³⁵ For them the Treaty of Pereiaslav is important because it made Russia a world power. But until the end of the eighteenth century, they complain, it brought Russia no income from Ukraine and no benefits to common Little Russians, who suffered at the hands of their Cossack leaders. Ukrainians, they claim, are not a nationality, but a

2003) 70, 81, 91. Despite their polemical Russian bias, the authors do correctly note the lack of balanced accounts of Ukrainian-Russian relations written from regional perspectives. This book was funded by AIRO-XX, an organization sponsored by the Friedrich Naumann Fund, whose publications dealing with former non-Russian Soviet nationalities have a distinct neo-Soviet revanchist tone.

34. The group is on a Russian-only website (www.edinenie.kiev.ua) with a direct link to the Russian Orthodox Church site. The winning essays are supposed to be published. That same year a Canadian Ukrainian foundation sponsored a competition for the best student essay on "The Consequences of the Pereiaslav Treaty for Ukraine," which was published in Ia. Davydenko et al., *Naslidky Pereiaslavskoi rady 1654 roku: Zbirnyk statei*, ed. I. Hyrych (Kyiv: Smoloskyp, 2004).

35. S. Grigoriev, "Nuzhen novyi Pereiaslav," *Verzhe*, 12 February 2004. According to this Zaporizhian journalist the views of Ukraine's National Institute of Strategic Research and the historians in *Pereiaslavska rada* reflect "a temporary political conjuncture." They repeat ideas formulated during the mid-nineteenth century by "western" intelligence services, which were intended to destroy the unity of the Slavs and which were adopted later by "activists of the Galician diaspora." Grigoriev works for one of Boguslaev's companies.

political party. Nurtured by stupid tsarist policies and naive “bleeding-heart” Russian liberals, after 1918 this party was fostered by the Communists and, finally, it came to power in 1991. Today, with the Kremlin’s complicity, it rules what should be part of Russia. Ukraine’s political leaders are anti-Russian, Russia’s leaders are pro-Ukrainian, and Ukraine’s Russians and Little Russians are lost because they are being Ukrainianized and no longer care about Russian culture.³⁶ These people are troubled by the fact that Russia finally ratified the delimitation of the border in 2004 and that, with EU assistance, Ukraine is turning its side of the border into a visible barrier. Not only do travelers see where Ukraine ends and Russia begins, but as of January 2004, for the first time since 1918, they must have passports to cross the border.

The official pro-Soviet and pro-Russian rhetoric and commemorations reflected the interests of the Kyiv, Dnipropetrovsk, and Donetsk clans, which were represented by President Kuchma, Viktor Medvedchuk, and Prime Minister Yanukovich. But they lacked internal logic and state-building rationale. First, the Kuchma-Medvedchuk circle sought to exploit the division in between pro- and anti-Russian or anti-Soviet groups in Ukraine, but it realized that it could exploit this latent east-west or nationalist-Soviet division only so far and did not attempt to commemorate simultaneously figures like Symon Petliura and Grigorii Piatakov at the one extreme, nor the national-communist Mykola Skrypnyk and the enlightened nobleman Vasyl Karazin, figures who arguably could have bridged the differences between the hostile groups, at the other extreme.³⁷ Thus Ukraine’s rulers excluded both the most and the least

36. S. Sidorenko, “Novaia Rossiia i byvshaia malorossiia,” *Moskva*, 2003, no. 11: 129–57. This January the editorial board awarded the author, who lives near Kremenchuk, an annual prize. See also a similar piece by a Ukrainian citizen from Zaporizhzhia who seems to be affiliated with only Russian institutions: V. Talinin, “Malorossiia v obiatiiakh globalizma i ‘ukrainskii natsionalizm,’” *Moskva*, 2002, no. 8: 160–71. Both articles can be found at <www.moskvam.ru>. In Moscow a Mikhail Smolin specializes in re-printing turn-of-the-century Ukrainophobic polemics: S. Shchegolev, *Istoriia “ukrainskogo” separatizma*, and “*Ukrainskaia bolezn*” *Russkoi natsii* (Moscow: Izdatelstvo Imperskaia Traditsiia, 2004). In his introduction to the first book Smolin, reiterating the early twentieth-century ideas of Russian Black Hundred writers, notes that “Ukraine” and “Ukrainians” are ideas invented by Turkic-Russian half-breeds, papal agents, and various demented reprobates to destroy Russia (17–23).

37. The government did not commemorate the 130th anniversary of Khrystian Rakovsky’s birth in 2003. This native Bulgarian was the first Chairman of the Council of People’s Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR. Beginning his political career in Ukraine as a centralist

divisive events and figures from their post-1991 national pantheon. As Mykola Riabchuk observed, Kuchma's government did not want reconciliation between pro- and anti-Russian or anti-Soviet groups in Ukraine. Artificially stimulating internal tensions by playing the latent fears of one group off against those of the other was hardly the way to create a new state, but it did enable the neo-Soviet Kuchma and Medvedchuk clans to present themselves as moderate centrists and, thereby, keep themselves in power. Official recognition of select Communist and non-Communist persons and events undercut both the organized Communist and organized national-democratic opposition to them.³⁸ Their pro-Russian rhetoric, meanwhile, justified a foreign policy that intended to make independent Ukraine into a neo-Soviet Russian vassal state.

Kuchma's government officially commemorated mutually incompatible events and persons. If collaborators like Shcherbytsky deserved to be commemorated for protecting Ukraine's interests against Moscow then it made no sense to commemorate a treaty that led to the situation in which Ukraine needed Shcherbytsky's protection. This public calendar violated logic, but it had a short-term political rationale: it helped to keep society divided and the opposing groups at odds. Future historians will determine whether or not the Kuchma-Medvedchuk group envisaged the Shcherbytsky and Pereiaslav commemorations as part of a presidential election strategy intended to generate an east-west or Ukrainian-Russian split within the country that it could then pretend to heal.

In Russia, alongside the government-sponsored neo-Slavophile imperial nostalgia, there is an extremist fringe of anti-Ukrainians, which together with its Little Russian brothers, celebrates the 1654 treaty as a "reunion."³⁹

who thought that making Ukrainian the state language was counter-revolutionary, he became a close ally of Skrypnyk and a strong advocate of autonomy and Ukrainization.

38. M. Riabchuk, *Dvi Ukrainy: Realni mezhi, virtualni viiny* (Kyiv: Krytyka, 2002), 96–196.

39. The Russian media promulgate such opinions and they still figure in some treatments of Russian history. See L. Males and B. Motuzenko, *Vzaemni etnichni obrazy ukraintsiv ta rosiian u mas-media* (Kyiv, 2002); Ukrainian-related entries in *Entsiklopediia russkoi istorii*, ed. N.A. Benediktov, N.E. Benediktova. and E.N. Bazurina (Moscow: EKSMO-Press, 2000), and the above-mentioned *Sviataia Rus': Bolshaia entsiklopediia russkogo naroda* (cf. 8). This year's reprint edition of Shchegolev's infamous *Istoriia "ukrainskogo" separatizma* makes no reference to the Pereiaslav anniversary. For examples of current serious historical writing, see Ukrainian-related issues in *Novaia*

Nevertheless, except for an exhibition at the Russian Historical Museum and two articles in the January issue of *Rodina*, the government and Russians ignored the 350th anniversary.⁴⁰ In Ukraine articles about the events of 1654 published in the major academic and quality monthlies basically summarized views detailed in *Pereiaslavska rada*.

As students taught according to books like *Pereiaslavska rada* grow up, and adults taught according to the 1954 "thesis" die off, popular memory and academic interpretation of Ukrainian-Russian relations will converge. Pro-Soviet and pro-Russian commemorations of 1654 will become politically superfluous and will disappear from the public calendar.

Changes along the Ukrainian-Russian border also suggest that the "reunion" interpretation of Ukrainian-Russian relations could gradually fade away. Heavy trade, family ties and common interests between Kharkiv Oblast in eastern Ukraine and Belgorod Oblast in southern Russia have given rise to the idea of a Slobozhanshchyna Euroregion among the young generation of politicians, business leaders, and academics on both sides of the border. Concerned about Ukrainian-Russian relations as much as about their democratic "European" image abroad, these people reject historical interpretations based on imperial ideas of Slav unity. "It seems that the regional elites of eastern Ukraine (in our case, of Kharkiv Oblast), whose legitimacy depends on Ukrainian statehood but whose economic interests are closely linked to Russia, are interested in an ideology of Ukrainian-Russian cooperation which would stress the Ukrainian 'origins' of the region but would also provide a justification for 'traditional' [understood locally as voluntary and beneficial—S.V.] relations with Russia."⁴¹ However, as the new Ukraini-

rossiiskaia entsiklopediia, ed. A.D. Nekipelov, vol. 1 (Moscow: Entsiklopediia, 2003) or *Rossiiskii entsiklopedicheskii slovar*, ed. A.M. Prokhorov, 2 vols. (Moscow: Bolshaia rossiiskaia entsiklopediia, 2000).

40. In the first article Rafalsky listed beneficial short-term and deleterious long-term results of the treaty for Ukraine. In the second article two Russian historians focused exclusively on its benefits. O. Rafalsky, "Naibolshaia legenda slavianskoi istorii," and N. Petrukhintsev, A. Smirnov, "Brak po raschetu," *Rodina*, 2004, no. 1: 10–19. This glossy magazine is financed by the government. The January issue was devoted to the 100th anniversary of the Russo-Japanese War. A conference on the Treaty of Pereiaslav in St. Petersburg was funded by the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies.

41. T. Zhurchenko, "Cross-Border Cooperation and Transformation of Regional Identities in the Ukrainian-Russian Borderlands: Towards a Euroregion 'Slobozhanshchyna'?" part 2, *Nationalities Papers*, 2004, no. 2: 504.

an-Russian relations in the border regions develop, it is unlikely they will repeat old imperial and Soviet models.

In this age of pop-culture the average person has little interest in, and knowledge of, history, and this ignorance can just as soon nullify the impact of hostile/old-imperial stereotypes as reinforce them. When today's young Ukrainians look back at 2004, will they think of Ruslana, "Wild Dances," and the Eurovision Song Contest, or of Russia, Pereiaslav, and the Congress of the Slavic Peoples? Reflecting on Ruslana's success a newspaper reader perceptively wrote that he considered Verka Serdiuchka a representative of Ukraine's Little-Russian Soviet past and Ruslana a representative of the country's European future.⁴² Appropriately, Verka supported Yanukovych, while Ruslana declared herself for Yushchenko in the presidential election. Russian youth, for their part, are more interested in Pugacheva than Pugachev, and how many of them could distinguish between Shukshin, Utkin, Pushkin, Putin, and Apukhtin is moot.⁴³

One likely result of Yushchenko's victory is that Ukraine's fringe groups, which, like warts, are always with us, will continue to celebrate 1654 and fondly remember the Bruikhovetskys, Shcherbytskys and Verkas. But whether the country's organized neo-Soviet Russophiles and Little Russians will be as harmless as Canada's United Empire Loyalists or as influential as Northern Ireland's Orange Order remains to be seen. Will they celebrate the 340th anniversary of Briukhovetsky's "Moscow Articles of 1665 in 2005?

Ironically, Yushchenko was born in 1954. Will his election victory mark 2004 as the last year of Ukraine's "Dnipropetrine period" and the beginning of the end of what began 350 years ago and was celebrated with such gusto when he was born? How his government commemorates the Battle of Poltava in 2009 will tell us much about its direction.

42. *Den*, 18 May 2004.

43. The average non-history major Russian university student's knowledge about his country's past may be found in examination answers compiled by Prof. G. Druzhinin: <http://zhurnal.lib.ru/d/druzhinin_g_g/responce.shtml>. Here, among other things, we learn that before 1917 Kyivan Rus' was called Ukraine and that Kyivan Rus' began when the Russians liberated Ukraine from the Germans and joined it to Russia.

Book Reviews

Mykola Pavliuk and Ivan Robchuk. *Ukrainski hovory Rumunii: Diialektni teksty*. Edmonton, Lviv, New York, and Toronto: Instytut ukrainoznnavstva im. I. Krypiakevycha Natsionalnoi akademii nauk Ukrainy, Naukove tovarystvo im. Shevchenka v Amerytsi, and Kanadskyi instytut ukrainskykh studii, 2003. xvi, 782 pp.

This large volume is a result of long collaboration between two linguists, both graduates of Kharkiv State University, Ivan Robchuk (Ion Robciuc) from the Iorgu Iordan Institute of Linguistics of the Romanian Academy and Mykola Pavliuk (Nicolae Pavliuc) from the University of Toronto. As a graduate of Kharkiv State University, I anticipated in this book a solid description based on traditional methods, which are no longer in linguistic fashion but are still popular in Ukraine and Romania. Indeed, Pavliuk's and Robchuk's work demonstrates the merits of a long-standing descriptive tradition deeply rooted in the pioneering studies of Kost Mykhalchuk and his followers.

The volume under review can be juxtaposed with text collections of a similar caliber that appeared after the publication of Ivan Pankevych's groundbreaking work *Ukrainski hovory Pidkarpatskoi Rusy i sumezhnykh oblastei* (Prague, 1938). Although with different degrees of didactic and theoretical load, their appearance was to some extent triggered by the preparation of *Atlas ukrainskoi movy*, a project, which was launched after the Second World War. Unfortunately, because of the anti-Ukrainian language policies of Soviet Ukraine, which emphasized the greatness and leading character of Russian culture and language, the Ukrainian problematic was subject to severe censorship, which greatly hampered dialectal studies. After a prolonged silence, in 1977, the Institute of Linguistics of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR published a collection of short dialectal texts, *Hovory ukrainskoi movy*, representing the bulk of Ukrainian dialects both in and outside Ukraine. Another collection, *Hovirky Chornobylskoi zony: Teksty*, appeared only in 1996. It contained more extensive and detailed texts recorded in eleven villages of Central Polissia. In the last few years several regional collections have been published.

Outside Ukraine the situation was dubious, although not uniform. In Poland dialectal studies have remained mostly beyond the Marxist-Leninist matrix, although some linguistic themes came under ideological constraints. One of them was Feliks Czyżewski and Stefan Warchoń's *Polskie i ukraińskie teksty gwarowe z terenu wschodniej Lubelszczyzny* (Lublin, 1998). This collection provides parallel Polish and Ukrainian texts, recorded in one and the same locality and sometimes from bilinguals, which may serve as reliable material for furthering our knowledge about languages in contact. Last but not least was the collection *Rozpovidi z Pidkarpattia* by Oldřich Leška, Růžena Šišková, and

Mykola Mušinka, published in 1998 under the auspices of the Slavic Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic. The project was launched in the late 1950s and was delayed because of the political events of 1968. This collection of Ukrainian texts recorded in the Subcarpathian region of Eastern Slovakia is unique for a number of reasons. Suffice it to say that, in addition to the texts and a socio-linguistic commentary, the book has phonetic sketches of three dialects. Thoroughly prepared, these sketches are based on strict structural principles used by the Prague Linguistic School.

Pavliuk and Robchuk's book on Ukrainian dialects in Romania, which they have studied for more than three decades, can be regarded as a highly traditional and at the same time individual contribution with a dual agenda. While following largely the descriptive model presented in the first two books of *Ukrainskyi dialektolohichnyi zbirnyk* (Kyiv, 1928 and 1929), it aims to give, first, a general description of Ukrainian dialects spoken in the historical regions of Romania: Maramureș, Suceava, Banat, and Dobrogea and, secondly, a large body of texts recorded in thirty-two Ukrainian villages in the above territories between 1962 and 1965 (pp. 5, 9). This agenda is reflected in the structure of the volume: the book is divided into two distinct parts, preceded by a comprehensive introductory article by a leading specialist in the field, Pavlo Hrytsenko of the Institute of the Ukrainian Language (pp. i–xvi), and a brief opening section with an introduction (pp. 5–10), a phonetic-transcription table (pp. 11–14), and a list of abbreviations (pp. 15–16), and followed by a concluding section, consisting of a glossary of all dialectal words in the texts (pp. 633–718), a selected bibliography (calqued into Ukrainian curiously enough as *selektyvna bibliohrafiia*) (pp. 719–24), a summary (pp. 725–48), a list of the villages and informants (pp. 749–51), and three dialectal maps (pp. pp. 752–6).

Part 1 deals with the general characteristics of Ukrainian dialects in Romania (pp. 19–101). First, the authors try to construct a comprehensive classification of these dialects on the basis of their most salient phonetic, morphological, syntactic, and lexical features. While drawing on dialectal data available in other sources, they argue that the Maramureș, Suceava, and Banat dialects belong to the Southwestern group of the Transcarpathian, Hutsul, and Bukovinian dialects, while the steppe dialects of Dobrogea belong to the Southeastern group of Ukrainian dialects (pp. 21–6). In criticizing E. Vrabie's 1963 classification, Pavliuk and Robchuk also try to determine the dialect attribution of all Ukrainian villages and towns, thereby providing a complete list of Ukrainian dialects spoken in Romania (pp. 23–6).

In the chapter "Phonetic Peculiarities" (pp. 27–37), the authors elucidate representative phenomena at the phonetic level. Of particular interest in the vocalism are reflexes of the etymological [o] in the newly-closed syllables in the Hutsul dialects, which are the following: [ɪ], [ɪʲ], and [i] (p. 28). In some Transcarpathian dialects, however, the etymological [o] and [e] are represented by the sound [ÿ], a labialized high front vowel similar to the German [ü] in München [ʔ – A. D.] (p. 29). Mostly on the basis of their studies in 1965 and 1971, Pavliuk and Robchuk claim that the above reflexes, in particular the diphthong [ɪʲ], shed light on the evolution of the etymological [o] in the Southwestern dialects. Correct as it may appear, the above assessment is incomplete, especially in view of the parallel evolution of another sound, [e]. Furthermore, since the evolution of [o] and [e] is known to have long remained in the focus of the debates about the compensatory lengthening and diphthongization of the etymological sounds [o] and [e], the authors could have briefly discussed competing views. It is therefore surprising

that Pavliuk and Robchuk, while liberally citing F.T. Zhylyko's studies, do not mention a single word from George Y. Shevelov's compendium, *A Historical Phonology of the Ukrainian Language* (Heidelberg, 1979). The latter posited a twofold developmental scenario for the etymological [o]: (1) the evolution of *ü* without an intermediary stage in the Hutsul dialects, and (2) its evolution with an intermediary reflex on the road to *i* in some Central Transcarpathian dialects (pp. 600, 763). Had Pavliuk and Robchuk taken the above distinction into account, they could have produced a phonetic typology of the target Ukrainian dialects like that outlined by the authors of *Rozpovidi z Pidkarpattia* for the Subcarpathian region of Eastern Slovakia. Incidentally, a similar typology is more than obvious in the areal maps summarizing Ukrainian dialectal phenomena, especially in maps 1, 2, and 9, as discussed in *Atlas ukrainskoi movy*, vol. 3, *Slobozhanshchyna, Donechchyna, Nyzhnia Naddniprorianshchyna, Prychornomoria i sumizhni zemli* (Kyiv, 2001), p. 64ff.

Sections dealing with consonantal sounds are very informative, although their material is presented somewhat haphazardly (pp. 31–7). In addition, the authors make use of obsolete terminology, which leaves apparent gaps in the phonetic systems of the dialects under consideration. Thus, while mentioning the devoicing of the voiced consonants in the Dobrogea dialects, they speak about the so-called word-internal or word-final positions (p. 37). Yet, in order to give a full picture of the assimilative processes, it would be more fitting in this case to outline a system of morpheme boundaries with increasing or decreasing boundary strength, thereby diagnosing them in different dialects.

The chapter "The Phonological Structure" addresses a variety of vowel and consonant systems realized in Ukrainian dialects in Romania (pp. 39–56). The authors establish three principal vowel systems (stressed vocalisms). The most typical is a six-vowel system, which is found both in the literary language and in the bulk of Ukrainian dialects, including most of the Maramureş dialects. A seven-vowel system, with an additional /ɨ/ reflecting the corresponding Old Rus'ian sound, is observable in the Banat and some Maramureş dialects. An eight-vowel system, with an additional labialised /ɣ/ in place of the etymological /o/ or /e/, is typical of some Banat dialects (pp. 39–40). Unfortunately, despite their schematic presentations, all vowel systems are marred by a rather confusing misprint. The problem is that the Ukrainian /u/, which is characterized phonetically as a central front mid vowel, is opposed in all diagrams to a back rounded mid /o/, a pairing which does not exist in modern Ukrainian.

In this respect it is worth mentioning that Ukrainian vocalism is characterized by a unique combination of oppositions, not realized in other East Slavic dialects. In some of the Ukrainian dialects in Romania, for example, the above seven-vowel system is marked by two distinctive features, to wit, "front vs. back" at the front mid level, with an opposition between /u/ and /ɨ/, and "unrounding vs. rounding" for high back vowels, with an opposition between /y/ and /ɨ/. For the Banat eight-vowel system, one can cite other oppositions. Leaving aside /ɨ/, which, contrary to Pavliuk and Robchuk, is level with /u/, there are two distinctive oppositions in rounding vs. unrounding, for example, *kýt* 'cat' vs. *kut* 'angel' for back high vowels and *mýst* 'bridge' vs. *míst* (lit. *misto*) 'place' for front high vowels (p. 41). (See also L.E. Kalnyn, "Osobennosti vostochnoslavianskogo dialektного kontinuum v svete sovremennoi lingvogeografii," in *Slavianskoe iazyko-*

znanie: XII Mezhdunarodnyi sezd slavistov, Krakov, 1998. Doklady rossiiskoi delegatsii, ed. O.N. Trubachev [Moscow, 1998], 345–6.)

Speaking about consonantal phonemes, Pavliuk and Robchuk follow conventional opinion that the Ukrainian consonantal system is characterized, particularly in Ukrainian dialects in Romania, by distinctive voicing and palatalization (p. 45). However, I strongly believe that this typology is far from complete and does not adequately reflect the phonemic peculiarities of the consonantal inventory in these dialects. Obstruent voicing properties, in particular voicing sandhi, in Ukrainian, as discussed by Henning Andersen and Michael Flier, confirm the opposition between distinctive protensity in Southwestern Ukrainian and distinctive voicing in Southeastern Ukrainian. In this context, it would be instructive to compare the phonemic system in the steppe dialects of Dobrogea, which are said to belong to Southeastern Ukrainian, with the phonemic system of the rest of Ukrainian dialects in Romania, which belong to Southwestern Ukrainian.

A tentative contrast between distinctive voicing and distinctive protensity in Ukrainian dialects in Romania may be useful in analyzing different inventories of consonants and their neutralization properties, as discussed, for example, by Jan Ziłyński in his *Opis fonetyczny języka ukraińskiego* (Kraków, 1932), which, by the way, is not mentioned in Pavliuk and Robchuk's book. As a result, their thesis about a "lesser degree of the functional identity of the voiced and voiceless consonants in the steppe dialects of Dobrogea" in view of their strong voicing properties in the word-final position (pp. 53–4) may be put in other terms. Thus, contrary to the Transcarpathian, Hutsul, and Bukovinian dialects, the steppe dialects as exemplified by Pavliuk and Robchuk present, in fact, evidence of phonemic protensity, or traces of it, with no neutralization of this feature before a morpheme boundary, for example, *duzhka* [žk] 'handle.'

In the chapter "Morphological Peculiarities" (pp. 57–75), the authors discuss both archaic and innovative phenomena, which are abundantly represented in the nominal morphology and verbal paradigm. Suffice it to note in the Hutsul and Bukovinian dialects the influence of the first conjugation on the ending of the third person plural form in the second conjugation, hence *bizhút'* (3 pl. pres.) 'to run' next to *kr'ichút'* (3 pl. pres.) 'to yell.' Of interest is also a parallel use of two main verbal endings, for example, *vár'út* (3 pl. pres.) / *var'é* (3 sg. pres.) 'to cook' (p. 72). Similar parallelism is found in 3 sg. pres. in the steppe dialects. Although prevailing, forms without the final *-t'* are sometimes paralleled in the *t'*-forms: for example, *nóse'* next to *nósyť* (3 sg. pres.) 'to carry about' (p. 71).

Some Hutsul, Transcarpathian, and Bukovinian dialects exhibit a robust clitic system. In addition to the standard preterite in *-lʹa*, *-la*, and *-lo*, the authors bring attention to the perfect for 1 sg. and 2 sg., which is derived from the past participle and the corresponding present auxiliary of 'to be.' In the Hutsul dialects, the clitic auxiliaries can float as in Polish, that is, they need not immediately follow the verb, for example, *dé-s khodýŷ?* (2 sg.) 'where have you been?' (p. 72). The same cliticization, rather than suffixation, is typical of the future tense, with the future clitic from an old future auxiliary *jati* 'to take,' for example, *mu robyty* 'I shall work' (p. 73). Interestingly, in some Bukovinian dialects the authors single out another analytic future tense, which, they claim, is derived from the infinitive and the future clitic form of the verb *máti*, for example, *maju masťýti* 'I have to smear.' The authors are quick, however, to take this future for a borrowing from the Romanian verb *avea* 'to have' used as a clitic auxiliary in the future tense, for example,

am să lucrez 'I have to work' (pp. 73–4). There seems to be no compelling evidence for the borrowing of this analytic form into Ukrainian. Although this analytic future tense is a shared Balkan property, there were also prerequisites in the internal development of the Ukrainian language (see my "The East Slavic 'habere': Revising a Developmental Scenario," in *Proceedings of the 13th Annual UCLA Indo-European Conference, Los Angeles, November 9–19, 2001*, ed. L. Jones Bley and M.E. Huld [Washington, D.C., 2002], 110–16.) However, even if borrowed, the Romanians might have functioned in this case as mediators, as they did in the transference of *k'* and *g'* (in place of *t'* and *d'*) or of the extension of the affricate *dž* under the influence of the West Bulgarian dialects (Shevelov, *A Historical Phonology of the Ukrainian Language*, pp. 773–4).

The chapter "Syntactic Peculiarities" (pp. 76–84) is objectively less informative, since, as the authors point out, the Ukrainian dialects in Romania do not share as many syntactic as phonetic and morphological peculiarities (p. 76). Nevertheless, some syntactic peculiarities are very representative, especially the distribution of the predicative cases in different dialects. It is worthwhile mentioning a predominant use of the predicative nominative case (cf. *vin je profesor* 'he is a professor'), which, although not specified by the authors, is more typical of the steppe dialects. Most arresting in this regard is the accusative case used in the predicate with the preposition *za* in some Bukovinian dialects, for example, *brat staž za traktor'ista* (acc. sg.) 'the brother became a tractor driver' (p. 78). The latter prepositional construction may be treated as a separate, parallel development of the predicative cases in Ukrainian, which is known to show a strong preference for the nominative case in the predicate.

Another interesting construction is the instrumental case used with the preposition *z* (ys, is) 'with' in the Transcarpathian dialects of Maramureș, for example, *rubáje khl'ib iz nozhóm* 'he is cutting bread with a knife' (p. 83). The authors are inclined to regard this construction as a borrowing from Romanian. The above assumption is quite plausible, since Romanian, in fact, knows the above prepositional construction. This syntactic pattern, however, is also shared by other Indo-European languages. Thus the Ukrainian dialects demonstrate a common morphosyntactic feature.

The final chapter addresses lexical peculiarities (pp. 85–101). The authors offer a well-researched classification of the dialectal lexicon. First, they distinguish between non-contrasting differences (mainly "ethnographic dialectisms") like the well-known form *gl'ag/kl'ag/gl'eg/kl'eg* 'whey ferment,' and contrasting differences of the type *tsvýntar* (Hutsul and Bukovinian dialects) and *hrobký* (steppe dialects) 'cemetery' (pp. 85–9). Among the latter differences, the authors single out so-called semantic dialectisms, which have similar sound forms but different meanings. However, one can hardly take *budyty* 'to smoke (meat)' for a semantic dialectism as proposed by Pavliuk and Robchuk (p. 89). Compared with the underlying *vudyty*, the lexeme *budyty* (incidentally, not attested in the book's glossary of dialectal words) seems to demonstrate a case of sound shift, *v ~ b*, within a series of labials (Shevelov, *A Historical Phonology of the Ukrainian Language*, p. 741). Although it is difficult to uncover whether the phonetic or the semantic factor was decisive in the instance of *budyty* (< *vudyty*), the above shift looks quite plausible and may be treated tentatively as affective.

Speaking about borrowings, the authors claim that loanwords from Romanian are most numerous in the bulk of Ukrainian dialects in Romania. Nonetheless, certain dialects might have been more influenced by other languages, for example, the Hutsul and

Bukovinian dialects by German, the steppe dialects by Russian and Bulgarian (pp. 100–1). There are also borrowings, which were not brought directly by Romanians. One of the most interesting examples is *grazhd/a/*, which is cited by Pavliuk and Robchuk as a loanword into the Hutsul dialects from Romanian. Although the Hutsul form *grazhdá* ‘fenced complex of house, sheds and barns’ has as its immediate source Rumanian *grajd* ‘stable,’ it shows all the features of Bulgarian phonology, which is likely to have been mediated by the Wallachians. The above example reflects, to be sure, a rather complicated way of borrowing, which was not even discussed in Dmytro Sheludko’s “Rumänische Elemente im Ukrainischen,” *Balkan-Archiv* (Leipzig, 1926), 2: 113–46, and Emil Vrabie’s “Influența limbii Române asupra limbii ucrainene,” *Romanoslavica* 14: *Lingvistică* (1967): 109–98. Oddly enough, these classic works are not found in the bibliography of the book under review.

The most valuable part of the book is certainly its collection of dialectal texts. Clearly recorded and meticulously presented, they will serve as a reliable source of information for Slavists interested in the structure of Ukrainian dialects in Romania, as well as in the traditions and customs of Ukrainians who have long lived in direct touch with Romanians. A bird’s-eye view of some aspects of Ukrainian culture and way of thinking can be gained from the texts, ranging over various themes. Depending on the age of a particular informant, an eager reader can dig out precious information about military service, the name “Hútsul,” animals, woods, birds, flood, the planting season, work in Belgium, and so on (pp. 182–94). Readers who are not accustomed to the transcription system used in texts of this sort will find it difficult to decipher these texts. The authors refer readers to the transcription used in *Prohrama dlia zbyrannia materialiv do Dialektolohichnoho atlasa ukrainskoi movy*, 2d ed. (Kyiv, 1949), pp. 94–101, and provide only “ancillary characters and diacritics” to render some “sounds and phonetic nuances” in the target dialects (pp. 11–14). But anyone who does not have the 1949 edition of *Prohrama* at hand, will give up reading these texts. In any case, the texts would have been more accessible, had the authors provided all the necessary characters in the form of diagrams, which are found, for example, in Czyżewski and Warchol’s collection of Polish and Ukrainian dialectal texts on pp. xlv–xlvii. Also, the exemplification of language data in these texts is not complete. Apart from basic characters and diacritics, which are customary in dialectal records, it would have been instructive to have offered additional “suprasegmental characters” like long/short pauses, or explanatory marks to refer to atypical forms or other “supratextual data.”

The book under review is a very welcome publication in Ukrainian linguistics. This is why my criticisms of the theoretical part, which seems somewhat outdated and off-hand in its apparatus and methodology, are restrained by the authors’ stated *modus operandi* and, what is more serious in this case, by some limitations imposed by the Communist regimes in both Ukraine and Romania. Yet, apart from minor quibbles, which do not spoil the positive overall impression of the book, its main drawback lies in the lost opportunities. True, Ukrainian dialects in Romania have long been neglected by official linguistics. It has been therefore difficult for students, who were sometimes banned from scholarly activities, to maintain a traditional descriptive level, to say nothing of introducing a mainstream linguistic fashion. It is no surprise therefore that Pavliuk and Robchuk strayed from the path that they were expected to take at the outset of their research. Thus, while offering a classification of Ukrainian dialects in Romania, Pavliuk and Robchuk were

most likely aware of an intrinsic "historical-geographical" difference between the two groups of Ukrainian dialects as represented in the villages of Maramureș, Suceava, and Banat (Southwestern Ukrainian), on the one hand, and in the villages of Doborogea (Southeastern Ukrainian), on the other. However, the authors failed to transform the above "historical-geographical" difference into the "linguistic" typology. (The latter has been recently *grosso modo* outlined in part 3 of volume 3 of *Atlas ukrainskoi movy*, the last volume, which is not even mentioned in Pavliuk and Robchuk's book.) Otherwise, instead of a pell-mell presentation of phonetic, morphological, syntactic and lexical features observable in the target dialects, the authors would have succeeded in distinguishing two distinct language types as realized in the two groups of Ukrainian dialects in Romania. This typology would have helped the reader to perceive more deeply the linguistic features of the Ukrainian dialects in Romania.

In spite of the criticisms above, Pavliuk and Robchuk's volume is a long-awaited contribution in a series of studies of Ukrainian dialects outside Ukraine, which is worth having in your library.

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Zhanna Kovba, comp. *Mytropolyt Andrei Sheptytsky: Dokumenty i materialy 1941–1944*. Kyiv: Dukh i Litera, 2003. xix, 313 pp.

The researcher interested in Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky's activity during the German occupation of Western Ukraine (June 1941–July 1944) would most likely go to the Central State Historical Archive in Lviv and consult the voluminous fonds 201 (Greek-Catholic Metropolitan Consistory), 358 (Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky), and 408 (Greek-Catholic Metropolitan Ordinariate). Important documents, however, have a way of turning up in unlikely places, and in disguise. A few years ago Zhanna Kovba, while researching the fate of Western Ukrainian Jewry at the Central State Archive of the Higher Organs of State Power and Administration of Ukraine in Kyiv for the Institute of Judaic Studies, came across a manuscript in fond 3833 (The Homeland Leadership of the OUN in the Western Ukrainian Lands) entitled "Diary of the Ukrainian Bourgeois Nationalists" (list 3, file 13). This turned out to be the Acts of the Metropolitan Ordinariate of the Lviv Archeparchy from July 1941 to July 1944. While the collection apparently had been seen by trusted researchers since at least 1981, it had escaped the notice of historians interested in Metropolitan Sheptytsky and the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church.

The heart of the book under review is a transcript of the seventy-seven documents constituting this collection. Of these, forty-seven have never been published. Of the remainder, twenty-six have been published in full, while four were published in part between 1942 and 1944. Twenty-three of the documents are initialed by Metropolitan Andrei, who presumably dictated them. Others represent directives of the Metropolitan Ordinariate, which was the executive organ of the chapter (an advisory body) and consistory (the judicial and administrative body) of the Lviv Metropolitanate. They were written down by Fr. Volodymyr Hrytsai, the Metropolitan's secretary as well as ecclesiastical court notary. In some cases we have only the title of the document, without

the text. The documents deal with such topics as administration, canon law, pastoral practice, church-state relations, catechetics, ecumenism, and church history. Annotations provide details about previous publication and, occasionally, useful commentary.

The transcript is preceded by the compiler's foreword, a list of abbreviations, and a brief but meticulous chapter about the manuscript itself. In the latter, Zhanna Kovba approaches the question of how, and to what extent, the contents of the manuscript were transmitted to the parish clergy and faithful of the Lviv Metropolitanate during the German occupation. While communication had already been limited under the first Soviet occupation (September 1939 to June 1941), now it was severely hampered by censorship, searches, and arrests as well as by practical difficulties. The official organ of the Lviv Archeparchy did not appear at all during 1941; publication resumed in 1942 but stopped again in 1943 and 1944. The manuscript contains only two documents from 1943. In 1944, announcements of the Metropolitan and his ordinariate had to be made orally at weekly meetings of the archeparchial clergy. Some of this information would then be disseminated orally among the parish clergy, and by the clergy among parishioners. Thus, in many cases this manuscript constitutes the only record of Metropolitan Sheptytsky's announcements.

Kovba also raises the question of responses from the field, citing minutes of deanery meetings (*soborhyky*) and letters from pastors to the metropolitan, now found in the Lviv archives. She notes that the author of one such letter, Fr. Oleksander Buts, was arrested in August 1943, and that his fate remains unknown (p. xix). Happily, the archives of the Institute of Church History at the Ukrainian Catholic University reveal that Fr. Buts was released by the Gestapo (fond 1, list 1, file 907); as of summer 2004, he was living in Lviv.

The transcript is followed by facsimiles of twenty-five of the seventy-seven documents. Fr. Hrytsai's legible hand is clearly reproduced. Since the facsimiles reflect deletions, additions, and modifications dictated by Sheptytsky himself, they may provide insights into his thinking.

Next comes an article by Andrii Kravchuk (Krawchuk) on "The Social Teaching and Activity of Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky during the German Occupation." (Chapter 5 of his 1997 English-language study *Christian Social Ethics in Ukraine* covers roughly the same territory.) Since it cites only the previously published documents, it must have been written before the Kyiv manuscript became available. As both a moral theologian and a historian, Kravchuk is equipped to explore the theological basis of Sheptytsky's reactions to the complex and violent historical events around him, as well as to consider the practical effects of his words and actions. In a nuanced analysis, he discerns three phases in the metropolitan's attitude towards the German occupation regime: positive yet conditional, then critical, and finally hostile. Kravchuk presents these against the background of Catholic teaching on fundamental matters like the relationship of church and state, the primacy of love, the notion of the common good, and the sanctity of human life. In doing so he cites key published documents such as the metropolitan's pastoral letters of 1 and 5 July 1941; his letter to Adolf Hitler of 22 July 1941; his pastoral letters "On Mercy" (June 1942) and "Thou Shalt not Kill" (November 1942); and his letter of 29–31 August 1942 to Pope Pius XII. Sheptytsky's activity in defense of human life was not limited, however, to private or even public protests. At the end of summer 1942 he undertook a carefully organized campaign to rescue Jews, which saved hundreds if not

thousands of lives (pp. 256, 258). Kravchuk finds that, although the metropolitan had fundamental objections to both the Soviet and Nazi systems, under the circumstances of the German occupation he reached the conclusion that "the ethical principle of defending human life prevails even over the differences between the Church and the socialists (in matters of private property) and the communists (regarding religious freedom)" (p. 260). He saw the Nazi occupation as the greater evil.

Because the article is published with endnotes rather than footnotes, one can easily miss some valuable information. For example, in reading Kravchuk's discussion of Sheptytsky's February 1942 protest to Heinrich Himmler concerning Ukrainian police participation in Jewish pogroms (p. 251), one learns that neither the full text of this letter, nor the letter itself, is extant. It is only by consulting the endnote that one learns that there are, nevertheless, three independent witnesses to the missing document (note 128).

Kravchuk is careful not only to document Metropolitan Sheptytsky's words and actions aimed at preventing violence and saving lives, but also to assess their effectiveness. Drawing on a variety of sources, he points out that the churchman's sometimes apparently veiled language was understood at the time to specifically condemn the killing of Jews (for example, notes 142, 168), and that his attempt to personally save Jews was successful (note 187). Although it would have considerably expanded the scope of the article, it would have been interesting to compare his activity with that of other European church leaders in analogous situations. It might also have been appropriate to relate Metropolitan Sheptytsky's social teaching to papal encyclicals like *Rerum Novarum* (1891) and *Quadragesimo Anno* (1931).

An addendum provides biographical data on Sheptytsky's secretary Fr. Hrytsai, a reputedly timid, unenterprising man whom challenging circumstances impelled to uncommon courage. A second and most useful addendum lays out the structure and membership of the Lviv Metropolitan Ordinariate in 1941–44. The scholarly apparatus is completed by an eight-page glossary of ecclesiastical terms (particularly useful, one would expect, to non-Galician readers in Ukraine) and by a table listing the documents, which indicates among other things whether they have been published in whole or in part, and whether they are initialed by the metropolitan. Unfortunately, an error in the last column renders each page number too high by one. It would have been helpful to indicate also those documents for which facsimiles are provided, and on what pages. The book closes with a note by Leonid Finberg and a one-paragraph English summary. While a bibliography would have been welcome, Andrii Kravchuk's 188 endnotes provide a near equivalent. Nor is the absence of an index a fatal flaw in this type of work.

The book's utility would have been enhanced, however, by cross-references among the transcript, the facsimiles, and the articles. The reader who takes the trouble to correlate them will be rewarded. For instance, both Kravchuk's article (p. 252) and the biography of Fr. Hrytsai (p. 290) mention a previously published document (no. 65 in the first Metropolitan Ordinariate series, no. 4 in this collection, on p. 16), dated 20 July 1941, in which Metropolitan Sheptytsky informs his clergy about a German demand for grain. The document begins, "The German army command asks me to recommend that the reverend clergy announce to the people an appeal of the German economic commission." As is pointed out in the Hrytsai biography, however, and as the manuscript facsimile reveals (p. 150), the metropolitan began his dictation with the customary term *poruchaiu* (I recommend). Then he apparently changed his mind, for the word *poruchaiu*

is crossed out, and the sentence begins as above. This may be an indication of the metropolitan's reluctance to associate himself with German policies, and his desire to distance himself from demands that he was compelled to announce.

Similarly, the annotation to the previously unpublished document no. 22, "On the Crime of Homicide" (Metropolitan Ordinariate series no. 83, initialed by Metropolitan Andrei, dated 5 October and read out on 9 October 1941) (pp. 45–7), does not refer to the facsimile on pp. 170–3 or the partial facsimile on the back cover. Nor is this powerful statement, contrasting the Christian ethics of life and love with the social demoralization of war and violence, cross-referenced with its brief mention by Kovba on p. xv. Although the annotation does cite the thematically related pastoral letter "Thou Shalt not Kill," it does not reference Kravchuk's discussion of that well-known document on page 256. It might also have been appropriate to cite the previously unpublished document no. 43 (27 March 1942), anathematizing those guilty of deliberate homicide (p. 68); fortunately, the brief annotation to that document does refer back to no. 22. Further annotation or cross-reference could have situated no. 43 in its historical context, coming about a month after Sheptytsky's protest to Himmler, which the Gestapo chief rebuffed, and coinciding with the first deportations of Jews to Belzec and other death camps (see Kravchuk pp. 251, 254).

The book also has some minor flaws: it was the Second, not the Third Polish Republic that annexed Galicia after the First World War (p. 285); "protonator" should surely read "protonotar" (p. 296); no. 47 is incorrectly titled no. 46 (p. 81). Wider letter-spacing in the text would have rendered it more readable. On the other hand, the cover is handsomely and imaginatively designed.

This collection provides an insight into the workings of a church administration in the trying circumstances of war and occupation. It will most likely attract attention, however, for what it tells us about the thinking of Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky. Sixteen of the twenty-three documents bearing the metropolitan's initial are published here for the first time. They fall into the period from July through October 1941, that is, the first four months of the German occupation. In addition to no. 22 (cited above), of particular interest are "The Trident without a Cross" (no. 17, p. 38), with its condemnation of godless nationalism, and two letters on ecumenical relations with the Orthodox (no. 7, pp. 20–3 and no. 14, pp. 31–5, both addressed to the clergy; a third and later document on this topic, first published here as no. 75, pp. 131–5, is not initialed by Sheptytsky but can safely be attributed to him). It is striking that in the previously unpublished no. 74 (pp. 123–30), an unsigned first-person narrative almost certainly dictated by the metropolitan between 24 and 31 July 1944 and devoted to the fate of historical archives, he makes only passing reference to the contemporaneous transfer of Lviv from the retreating Germans to the advancing Soviets.

Mytropolyt Andrei Sheptytsky: Dokumenty i materialy 1941–1944 is a valuable companion piece to volume 3 of the *Actes et documents du Saint Siège relatifs à la seconde Guerre Mondiale*, edited by Pierre Blet (Vatican City, 1967), the collection *Pysma-poslannia Mytropolyta Andreia Sheptytskoho, ChSVV z chasiv nimetskoi okupatsii* (Yorkton, Saskatchewan, 1969), the *Diiannia i postanovy* (Proceedings and Resolutions) of the archeparchial councils of 1940–43 published in Winnipeg in 1984, and *Mytropolyt Andrei Sheptytsky, Zhyttia i diialnist: Dokumenty i materialy*, edited by Andrii Kravchuk (Lviv, 1995–99). It will interest not only church historians, but all those concerned with

Ukraine during the Second World War. It should be remembered that the Archbishop and Metropolitan of Lviv was also regarded by the stateless western Ukrainians as their political leader, while the Church, as the only institution in Galicia that "preserved an internal structure independent of the occupation regime" (p. 289), served as a vessel of resistance. This collection should thus prove particularly useful to those undertaking comparative studies of resistance to occupation regimes.

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Volodymyr Kuznietsov. *Filosofia prava: Istoriia ta suchasnist (Navchalnyi posibnyk)*. Kyiv: Stylos and Foliant, 2003. 382 pp.

Philosophy of law? Some long forgotten, dusty verities, you think. Are they still relevant in these days of immense and rapid changes, when our minds race and most our energies are spent trying to find some meaning in this new brash and sometimes arrogant world? But then you pick up the book and read the introduction. Before you know it, you are immersed in a book, which with unexpectedly inviting language makes you pause and reflect.

To encompass a subject as vast and complex as the philosophy of law and to present its development from ancient times to the present in a single book is a daunting and admirable undertaking. To do so effectively in a book small enough not to frighten away prospective students, young legal professionals, and other persons involved with legal matters, for whom the book is primarily intended, is an accomplishment.

The book is a compilation with commentary and an explanation of the theoretical underpinnings of law. It brims with details both in the summaries of various philosophies of law and the explanations of theoretical approaches to legal analysis. It brings together ancient and modern understandings of law, as well as Anglo-American theories and approaches, all in a nutshell. The subtitle "Teaching Manual," which does not appear on the cover but only inside the book, reflects accurately the level and style of presentation.

Instructional material in jurisprudence runs, of necessity, the gamut of pedagogical means and methods. Sweeping across a broad range of the subject matter, the arrangement and method used in this book aim at overcoming the many challenges that law professors face in the United States, Canadian, and European jurisdictions. Disinterest in abstract ideas, which do not appear to affect one's life immediately, unease about formulating propositions that depend on prior knowledge of political systems and the values underlying their structures, and anxiety about assimilating hundreds of philosophical, not to mention legal, theoretical principles cause many students to avoid courses in legal philosophy, unless these are a mandatory part of the curriculum. By explicitly placing the book in the category of teaching tools and by explaining in the preface his aim to present the variety of approaches to legal philosophy in such a way as to make them understandable as part of one complex system, Kuznietsov lays the foundation for the material in the introduction. The introduction outlines in some detail and in clear and simple language the basic categories of the subject. The author guides the reader right into the text and dissolves any apprehension a novice might feel in approaching what appears to be an esoteric subject.

The method of presentation of the material, which balances elementary detailed explanations with overviews and general statements, is appropriate for an undergraduate textbook, but it is also useful for general practitioners and others who have not been exposed to philosophical analysis in their prior studies.

Chapter 1 is a good example of the method. It explains in elementary terms without too much doctrinal differentiation the "structure of the understanding" of what law is and the complexity of the components that make up this understanding. The author painstakingly describes the need for models and paradigms and their construction and use in all advanced fields of knowledge, particularly in the realm of legal theory and philosophy. He uses diagrams to illustrate how the abstract processes of comprehending (understanding) legal categories work, how the initial understanding influences the next step, and how the various connections and feedback interact. The cycle of problem-solving through the appropriate formulation of the problem itself and logical reasoning in the search for a well-grounded solution is presented by still another, somewhat simplified, diagram, which a student is likely to be able to absorb visually as a basis for his legal thinking. Here, as throughout of the book, one perceives the guiding hand of a caring and experienced teacher.

The ancient Greek philosophy of law is the subject of chapter 2. It begins with pre-Socratic times and ends with Aristotle. A table graphically presents the various forms of ancient state administration. Chapter 3, as expected, deals with Roman law and law in the Middle Ages. Chapter 4 covers the Renaissance and the Modern Period. Four pages of excerpts from the Constitution of the United States and the Declaration of Independence of 1776 appear under the rubrics of natural law, judicial activity, and constitutional law.

A brief outline of Thomas Hobbes's views is also a part of this chapter. In the middle of the outline, the author inserts two lengthy paragraphs from an article titled "The Hunt for Witches" by a M. Sokolov, which appeared in the Russian newspaper *Izvestiia-Ukraina*, 2 October 2001. The excerpt chides multiculturalists who, in Sokolov's view, claim that there are universal values, but who are wrong, because there exists a culture of evil, which the world is experiencing. It is difficult to see what this article, which mentions Bin Laden and the tragedy of 11 September 2001, is expected to add to our understanding of *Leviathan*. It might, however, perk up a drowsy student.

In addition to Hobbes, a large number of thinkers are reviewed in chapter 4, some of them only in a few sentences: Sassoferato Bartolus, Niccolò Machiavelli, Jean Bodin, Francisco de Vitoria, Francisco Suarez and Hugo Grotius, Samuel von Pufendorf, John Locke, Charles de Montesquieu, Giambattista Vico, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Edward Coke, Immanuel Kant (who commands several pages), Rudolf Stammmler, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, Friedrich Karl von Savigny, Johann Gottlieb Fichte, Sir Henry Maine, Auguste Comte, Charles Darwin, Herbert Spencer, and at the very end, anthropologist Bronislaw Malinowski. This list indicates large volume of material that Kuznietsov attempts to cover. The range of legal scholars and philosophers, philosophical schools, and theories, all packed in fifty pages, gives the book the appearance of an encyclopedic dictionary rather than a textbook.

Developments in legal philosophy and theory in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries are treated in greater depth in chapters 5 and 6. Most subsections have an introduction by the author, bringing out the historical context and pointing out some of the key differences of approach. The author's own excursions into jurisprudence reduce

the distance separating the presented material from the reader. In the process of exposition, which is much more extensive than in prior chapters, Kuznietsov shares some of his own interpretations and attitudes. According to the space he allots to different approaches, one would venture the guess that the economic analysis of law is not his prime interest, despite his respect for Judge Richard A. Posner. Feminist legal theory (feminist critique), on the other hand, occupies ten pages. Here in addition to the author's own exposition, several lengthy excerpts from the writings of feminist scholars are presented, ending with an amusing, but incisive piece by Hanna Bezkorovaina. That imparts a personal touch and a feeling of relevance. It invites the student, male or female, to consider the philosophical enterprise as pertinent to present-day social issues.

To make some newer developments such as legal postmodernist theories less abstract, the author again introduces diagrams and tables. These illustrate visually the various principles and postulates, as the author calls them, espoused by the different systems. The tables present comparisons of how these systems affect human existence on various levels: the relationship to reality, behaviour, historical directions, morality, society and the political aspects of life. The tables and diagrams help to classify the various conceptions of law and are helpful to students in digesting so much compacted epistemological material.

The question of classifying the current views and legal theories, which, according to the author, number about fifty, is the subject of the last unnumbered chapter, the addendum. Here Kuznietsov asserts that the classification of legal philosophical thinking is in a chaotic state, and that there is a need for some systematic arrangement. He goes on to propose a scheme of classification. The proposal is grounded in an extensive examination of a whole spectrum of views of legal theorists, mostly contemporary ones, and a comparative methodology. Here again we find many diagrams and tables, without which an uninitiated reader would easily become lost. This last chapter calls for a separate study and a review of the author's proposal.

Besides its conciseness the book has another shortcoming, which may not detract from the value of its content but does detract from its significance as a Ukrainian-language textbook. Instead of transliterating foreign personal names and words directly into Ukrainian, Kuznietsov often follows the Russian transliteration system. Thus the English and German "h" is often transliterated as "kh" (as in Russian), instead of the Ukrainian "h." This makes it difficult to internalize the quoted text and to recognize foreign names, an important failure in the teaching-learning context. The lack of a consistent transliteration system is very noticeable and annoying in the index: Herbert Hart becomes Herbert Khart, Hicks—Khiks, Hirsch—Khirsh, Hohfeld—Khokhfeld, and so on, but luckily, Hobbes remains Hobbs! Similarly, the letter "g" is not used where it should be: Goodrich is Hudrich, Hugo Grotius is Huho Hrotsii, and Wolfgang is Wolphanh, but it is very gratifying to see that Goethe is rendered as Gete. It takes an effort to identify the names of some English authors.

In a textbook of such panoramic scope the author's explanations can only touch the surface and his summaries of the various philosophical theories cannot but be selective, as Kuznietsov admits. This increases his responsibility for the accuracy of his interpretations. The understanding of jurisprudence depends largely on how a commentator construes the meaning of the various philosophical principles and postulates. A glossary would have made this book even more useful to the student and general reader.

Considering the lack of uniform legal definitions and the paucity of legal dictionaries in Ukraine, an explanation of the meaning of key legal terms would have been very helpful.

Kuznietsov's book is an important contribution to the philosophy of law in Ukraine. It provides students and practitioners of law with a deeper understanding of the foundations of law and the modes of legal reasoning. Last but not least, it is a pleasure to read.

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Adriana Petryna. *Life Exposed: Biological Citizens after Chernobyl*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2002. xvii, 264 pp.

Adriana Petryna, a professor of anthropology at the New School University in New York presents us with a thoroughly researched study of the impact of the 1986 Chornobyl nuclear disaster on Ukrainian society. She applies the term "biological citizens" to the part of Ukraine's population that was traumatized by the reactor accident, either because it lived in the vicinity of Chornobyl during the weeks-long radiation fallout or did clean-up or construction work at the site after the accident. To my knowledge no other book focuses as sharply on the effects of the Chornobyl disaster on its victims and on Ukrainian society in general.

Petryna started her research with first-hand observations during her first visit to Ukraine in 1992. She conducted numerous interviews with victims, physicians, scientists, administrators, politicians, and other people. She prepared herself for the study by acquiring some scientific background by joining a radiation health group at the Lawrence Berkeley Laboratory in California. The first third of the book gives an account of what happened in Chornobyl and of the historical and political background of her main theme: how the newborn Ukrainian state assumed responsibility for the well-being of people affected by a disaster that occurred in the collapsing USSR.

Petryna reports case histories of "sufferers" and invalids who link their misfortune with the Chornobyl accident. She describes how they deal with the bureaucracy and health-care network to acquire victim status for health benefits. Because of state subsidies, life in the radiation zones can be easier in some respects than outside them. Petryna knows how difficult it is to connect any disease with radiation exposure. Most significant in this context are her interviews with Dr. Robert Gale, the American bone marrow transplant expert, and with Dr. Angelina Guskova, the head of the hospital unit in Moscow that treated the Chornobyl firefighters who came down with Acute Radiation Syndrome (ARS). While we can statistically connect increases in the incidence of cancer with higher levels of radiation, we cannot attribute an individual occurrence of cancer (or some other disease) to a given dose of radiation. A few diseases, such as special forms of thyroid cancer, are an exception to this rule and have been causally linked with the Chornobyl plumes.

Towards the middle of the book Petryna puts the main theme into focus. The Ukrainian authorities substantially reduced the acceptable norms of radiation background and guaranteed provisions for residents of affected areas and compensation for people

who could prove that they had been harmed by radiation exposure. The author explains how the right connections or the right kind of knowledge are more important than actual disease profiles for securing invalid status and an early pension. She points out how the transition from a state-run to a market economy put a large part of the population under immense economic stress. Because of high unemployment obtaining the status of "sufferer" and state support became a matter of survival for many people.

In chapters four through seven Petryna uses interviews with "sufferers" and observes their dealings with special medical units to illustrate the problems of dealing with health effects. According to compensation measures established in 1986–90 under the Soviet regime, scientists, engineers, technicians, and skilled workers got triple wages for working in the radioactive zone and usually won increased health and pension benefits by establishing a link between their (or their children's) illnesses and the time they spent in the zone. Ordinary workers such as collective farmers in the region and young military reservists who were often exposed to much higher levels of radiation during clean-up received less pay and could rarely establish the required link between their illness and radiation exposure.

Interestingly enough, to this day officials have not acknowledged that the substantial mortality rate among conscripted clean-up workers is linked to radiation exposure. Like other researchers, Petryna had no access to statistical epidemiological data, which are secret. Sometimes data is simply lacking because it is difficult to conduct epidemiological studies on mortality in a migrating population. She was welcome in a number of hospitals and radiation health centres to interview patients and witness doctor-patient consultations, but was denied access to statistics.

Why were conscripts exposed to substantial doses of radiation? They were supposed to work until they had received a "safe" dose of twenty-five rems, which represents a reasonable lifetime dose accumulated from natural background radiation and medical X-rays. At Chernobyl this dose could be obtained in a matter of minutes, hours, or days depending on the mission. It is unknown whether this dose is safe when it is obtained in such a short period of time, but it was assumed to be safe. The military leaders in charge of the clean-up, however, did not understand how the "safe" dose was arrived at and decided to use fewer soldiers, sacrificing them to save the lives of others. Conscripts worked in dangerous spots in the zone until they had typically accumulated 125–225 rems.

Another remarkable piece of information is the classification of illnesses related to radiation exposure. During the early days when massive amounts of radiation poured out of the crippled burning reactor a hospital was established in Moscow to treat the surviving firefighters (about twenty-five died before they could be transferred). In her work prior to Chernobyl Dr. Guskova had determined that a dose of 0.1–1 rem would result in measurable organic effects in patients. Her work with the firefighters, many of who arrived with doses (many hundreds of rems) that were considered lethal, changed her mind. This change was in line with Soviet policy of reducing the number of claimants to state assistance by simply raising the threshold. Thus, the Chernobyl catastrophe was "normalized" by establishing a threshold of a 250 rems for ARS. Guskova reclassified all cases below the threshold as vegeto-vascular dystonia (VVD), a neurotic disease, and restricted herself to treating about 237 ARS cases. The illnesses of those who did not

meet the new official criterion for ARS could not be causally linked with radiation exposure.

The new Ukrainian state loosened the criteria for linking illnesses with radiation exposure. The number of people supported in some way by the Chernobyl welfare system rose from 350,000 in 1990 to 1.5 million in 1991 and to 3.5 million in 1996. In 1996 a list of about fifty illnesses that could be linked to Chernobyl was established. The Ukrainian authorities were criticized by the World Bank among other institutions for setting up a social apparatus that would weigh down Ukraine's economy. A major problem in this context was that almost no Chernobyl workers had measurement-based personal dose assessments. Dose assessments were done on the basis of time spent in certain areas. Yet the actual levels of radiation could differ greatly in neighbouring locations. The Ukrainian health monitors revised the doses in the "sufferers'" records upward by a factor of five. This humanitarian gesture by the new state led to widespread corruption and deceit.

In chapter six Petryna describes the work of Dr. Angelina Ceanu, who heads a unit at the Radiation Research Centre. Here neurosurgeons proposed the idea that even low-dose radiation causes neurological damage such as progressing lesions in the cortex, subcortex, and brain stem. Ceanu pioneered work based on the hypothesis that thyroid disorders in prenatally exposed children lead to hormonal imbalances all the way to mental disorders. Patients with psychoneurological disorders are tested using brain scans, and the data are used as a basis for determining whether a tie to Chernobyl can be established. There are cases in which reports of such a link are purchased to get compensation from the state.

Chapter seven is devoted to some case histories showing how middle-aged people who have a hard time adapting to the new economic conditions exploit the Chernobyl social safety net. It is their only hope for survival when unemployment—particularly among their children, who often end up with broken marriages—makes normal life impossible. These cases provide interesting insights not only into how the social safety net works, but also into life in a post-Soviet society.

Involvement in the Chernobyl accident has become a way of life in Ukraine that enables a sizable part of the population to survive in times of extreme economic hardship. Biological effects are subject to political manipulation. Is this situation unique? There are some parallels with the Bhopal chemical disaster in 1984 and the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. How should society deal with the continuing effects of Chernobyl? How can the social injustices introduced by the system of compensation itself be overcome?

Life Exposed should be required reading for any course in political science dealing with the post-Soviet era. With its detailed account of victims' case histories it is also useful reading for courses dealing with large-scale disasters. While the book follows the academic paradigm with elaborate footnotes and references, it is well written and can be easily understood by anyone interested in the subject.

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Shimon Redlich. *Together and Apart in Brzezany: Poles, Jews, and Ukrainians, 1919–1945*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002. xi, 202 pp.

The Israeli historian Shimon Redlich was born in 1935 in the small east Galician town of Berezhany (now in Ternopil oblast). He lost his father and grandparents during the Holocaust, but survived with his mother thanks first to a Pole who provided them with food and later to a Ukrainian woman who hid them in her house in a nearby village. The book under review is both Redlich's emotional journey into his past and a scholarly study of the tangled relations between Ukrainians, Poles, and Jews in the town of his youth. This combination of recollection and historical analysis makes for absorbing reading, so much so that by the book's end a Ukrainian specialist will forget his or her frustration about the author's preferential use of Polish place names.

Redlich's monograph is not a study of the Holocaust per se. Unlike Jan T. Gross's explosive *Neighbors: The Destruction of the Jewish Community in Jedwabne, Poland* (2001), this book does not seek to assign guilt or revise our understanding of the local people's role in the Holocaust. Nor does Redlich engage the big questions of Holocaust studies, such as the famous models of "ordinary men" and "willing executioners" or the search for a cultural logic that made mass murder acceptable to bystanders. In fact, the book's main focus is not on the extermination of Jews in Berezhany/Brzezany but on how the prewar multiethnic society in eastern Galicia was destroyed in the fire of war, ethnic cleansing, and resettlement.

Given the unusual nature of his source base, which combines personal memories with interviews and more traditional resources such as archives and newspapers, it was wise of Redlich to divide most chapters into three sections. The first section, in italics, is a moving first-person account of what he remembers of the time period covered in the chapter. The second is a reconstruction of events in narrative form, and the third shows how these events are reflected in the memory of survivors belonging to different nationalities. In line with this narrative structure, Redlich's main argument is also tripartite.

The author's principal thesis is that before the war Jews, Poles, and Ukrainians lived "together and apart" in a tense, but generally functional triangular relationship. There was "never a pogrom-like atmosphere in prewar Brzezany" (p. 53) and, if anything was taking a turn for the worse, it was the Ukrainian-Polish conflict. But the arrival of the Soviets in 1939 and the Nazis in 1941 destroyed the existing ethnic hierarchy, or what the author calls "prewar frameworks" (p. 164). At the same time, the new realities of terror and violence radicalized nationalistic attitudes (p. 133). Redlich implies that this general trend determined the Gentiles' actions—or lack of them—during the Holocaust, when as many as 10,000 Jews from Berezhany and the vicinity lost their lives. This radicalization also led to the escalation of ethnic violence between the Ukrainians and the Poles during 1944–45.

Redlich does not discuss in detail the role local Ukrainians may have played in the extermination of their Jewish neighbors. (The Germans did the actual shooting.) He notes in passing that "roundups were usually carried out by the Ukrainian and Jewish police" (p. 112) and then observes that none of his Ukrainian interviewees mentioned this (p.

133). Another memory they suppressed was the July 1941 pogrom, which the author discusses in more detail. This event, in which "dozens of Jews were killed and wounded" (p. 164), was ostensibly a popular reaction to the discovery of the bodies of Ukrainian political prisoners whom the Soviet security police had executed, but in reality the result of a more complex ideological cocktail, including "the emotional shock of the Soviet killings, intensive Nazi propaganda about the dangers of Judeo-Bolshevism, and the prevailing stereotype of the pro-Soviet Jew" (p. 100). In a note Redlich also mentions two works that argue that Nazis directly incited the local population to such pogroms (p. 176, n. 4).

The second theme running through the book is who assisted Jews and why. Like other scholars of the Holocaust in eastern Europe, Redlich concludes that for Berezhnians, the primary motive for assisting Jews was material gain, although pure humanitarianism, friendship, and romance also played a role. The author notes that "Brzezany Jews were hidden mostly by Poles" (p. 113) and "Ukrainian assistance to Brzezany Jews was quite rare" (p. 130), and he explains this by the fact that Poles as urban dwellers had more intensive social contacts with Jews (pp. 70, 103). The case of Redlich's own family was, then, atypical. Whereas the Pole who supplied them with food while they were hiding in the ghetto was an old friend of the author's grandfather, the person who gave them shelter in her home was a Ukrainian, Tanka (Tetiana) Kontsevych from the village of Rai.

Redlich finds it difficult to interpret the motives of this illiterate Ukrainian woman. She was having an affair with the author's uncle, but did this give her a sufficient motive to take in the uncle's pregnant wife, her sister (the author's mother), and the author? At one point, Redlich says, "The basic human qualities of such simple people as Tanka fascinated me: their naiveté, an almost childish behavior, their willingness to take risks without thinking about the consequences. All these qualities were part of the miracle which saved our lives" (p. 11). A scholar of Orientalism would have a field day interpreting these tropes of simplicity, naiveté, and childishness. Obviously, Redlich would not use them to describe the motivation of Poles, with whom he still feels "at home" culturally (pp. 9, 27). In contrast, the only Ukrainian interviewee with whom the author felt "at home" when he was interviewing Ukrainians in Britain was the least educated one, who reminded him of simple peasants, like Tanka (p. 30). At times it seems that the author still thinks in cultural categories that should have been the subject of his historical analysis.

The third and possibly most interesting part of Redlich's argument is his conclusion that the survivors of all three nationalities preserved separate self-centered memories that were selective and mutually hostile (p. 162). When they return to Berezhany as tourists, the members of each group go back to their separate places of worship and burial. Memories have become overwritten with later stereotypes, as in the case of Rena Wanderer, whose family was hidden by several Polish families, but who told the author that she hates "all Polacks" (p. 22). Redlich brings up another example, that of Poldek, a Jewish doctor who survived the Holocaust because during the German occupation he served as a physician with the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). I think the author has not properly deconstructed Poldek's recollections. Although the doctor could not say anything bad about his treatment by Ukrainian nationalist guerrillas, he remembers being "always fearful of being murdered" (p. 127). According to Redlich, "the overall message of Poldek, the young Jewish doctor, was undoubtedly about Ukrainian cruelty and anti-Semitism" (p. 134). But Poldek's fear of Ukrainian guerrillas may have been due not to

his actual experiences with them, but to the fact that in the spring of 1944 he deserted his unit and expected retribution (p. 128).

One should stress, however, that Redlich offers a balanced, objective explanation for many events in Ukrainian history that are often misinterpreted, such as attacks by the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) on Polish officials during the 1930s, the welcome that local Ukrainians extended to the German troops in 1941, Metropolitan Sheptytsky's assistance to Jews, and the creation of the SS Galician Division. In an attempt to get away from what the author calls the conviction of "exclusive victimhood" (p. 163), he acknowledges, for example, that "the Ukrainians suffered the most" during the postwar Soviet operations in Western Ukraine (p. 151). One of Redlich's statements needs correction, however. Referring to Zhanna Kovba's book about the Holocaust in eastern Galicia, *Liudianist u bezodni pekla* (1998), he claims that "native east Galicians would barely reach five percent of the local population in the 1990s" (p. 147). This seems counter-intuitive and indeed, a consultation of the source reveals that Kovba was talking about the *cities* of eastern Galicia, rather than the region in general.

My criticisms do not diminish the overall value of this well-researched and powerful book. The author and Indiana University Press have done a fine job with illustrations, ranging from prewar postcards to archival photos and the author's photographs from the 1990s. This book will be of great interest to both specialists and general readers.

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James O. Finckenauer and Jennifer L. Schrock, eds. *The Prediction and Control of Organized Crime: The Experience of Post-Soviet Ukraine*. New Brunswick, N.J. and London: Transaction Publishers, 2004. vi, 201 pp.

David Mandel. *Labour after Communism: Auto Workers and Their Unions in Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus*. Montreal: Black Rose Books, 2004. x, 283 pp.

In the academic literature on post-Communist societies and their politics, two topics are commonly overlooked. One is organized crime; the other, the travails of the working class. Happily, the two volumes under review aim to make up for this neglect. But there is much room for improvement.

The book edited by Finckenauer and Schrock is the result of a partnership between United States experts on crime associated with the National Institute of Justice and their Ukrainian counterparts at the Academy of Legal Sciences in Ukraine. Unfortunately, none of the American participants knows the Ukrainian language or is a specialist on Ukraine. Correspondingly, their Ukrainian colleagues are not fully versed in Western-style social science research. The result is a volume that, like Ukraine at this time, is neither here nor there. Because of the lack of Ukrainian expertise on the American side of this project, the transliteration of Ukrainian place names into English is atrocious. The book will not impress Ukrainianists.

Nevertheless, three chapters stand out for special mention. Jay Albanese, one of America's foremost specialists on organized crime, offers a superbly thought-out analysis of its origins, on the basis of which an assessment of the risks facing a particular country in that regard can be made. Regrettably, none of the other contributors fleshes out this theoretical model as it applies to Ukraine or makes an effort to prognosticate on its basis, although many of its components figure in later chapters. Anyone wanting to study organized crime would do well to start here. A minor discrepancy is Albanese's characterization of prostitution and human trafficking as not inherently violent, which is contradicted by the accounts of these criminal activities in subsequent chapters.

The second outstanding contribution, because of its empirical base, is a chapter on the transnational trafficking of women from Ukraine. This was researched and written by Donna Hughes, holder of the women's studies chair at the University of Rhode Island, together with Tatyana Denisova, dean of law at Zaporizhzhia State University. They describe clearly the nexus between politics and crime involved in trafficking and expose the culpability of governments in the destination countries.

A fifty-page survey of organized crime in Ukraine by Phil Williams, the leading British scholar in this field, who is now at Pittsburgh, and John Picarelli of American University's Transnational Crime and Corruption Center, completes the trio of exemplary works in this volume. In it the authors provide a conceptually organized historical background, out of which, as they explain, "politics, crime, and corruption merged to form both a deeply criminalized political system and highly politicized criminal organizations" (pp. 139-40). They then analyze and illustrate the major types of organized crime activities, including trafficking in arms, people, and drugs, car theft, extortion, contract killings, and money laundering. This is followed by descriptions of regional variations in such places as Odesa, Crimea (the Sicily of Ukraine), Lviv (rather sketchily done), Donbas, and Kyiv. The final portion of the chapter is devoted to highly perceptive and appropriate recommendations for dealing with the organized crime situation. "Organized crime," they conclude, "is like a constantly mutating virus that outmaneuvers efforts to destroy it." Without doing what is recommended here, they say, "Ukraine will continue to suffer from ... organized crime and corruption" (pp. 177-8). Williams and Picarelli may not be experts on Ukraine, basing their chapter on secondary sources and a few interviews, but their advice on ridding Ukraine of organized crime deserves serious consideration.

In addition to these three chapters, the volume also contains the editors' introduction on the American-Ukrainian research partnership, a brief and superficial account of trafficking in women and children for sexual exploitation, an even briefer note on money laundering, an equally brief contribution on economic crime, itself an undefined concept, an interesting paper showing Ukraine's increasing importance as a transit country in the global heroin trade, a seven-page note on business victimization as a form of adaptation, whatever that means, and, finally, a lot of generalizations within a short space under the inscrutable title, "A Behavioral Model for Ukrainian Organized Crime Groups." Hopefully, my reading of these chapters will spare the reader from suffering through them.

In sum, this is a timely, but somewhat disappointing, book. It makes a start by describing the situation and offering the standard litany of causes and remedies, but it is not consistently analytical in a scientific sense.

David Mandel's study of automobile workers' unions in Russia, Belarus, and Ukraine is a laborious read. Leo Panitch's endorsement on the back cover promises "a gripping

account," but the grip is that of paralytic boredom. Based on years of participant observation, Mandel's account of the hopeless inertia of post-Communist trade unionism makes for excruciatingly painful reading. If organizing a union is tedious, reading about it with no point except detailed description is infinitely more so. If the author's objective is to activate the working class in post-Communist countries, which seems to be a forlorn hope, why is this book being inflicted on a Western audience?

Mandel wants to show that the neo-liberal economic reform program is fundamentally wrong for post-Communist countries, especially for the working class. Its employment security, living and working conditions, and wage rates have all deteriorated. Its unions, with rare exceptions, have not defended its interests, but have collaborated with management to work against them. It has not benefited from the privatization of industrial enterprises. Surprisingly, according to Mandel, the auto workers of Belarus, where "shock therapy" has not been implemented, are better off than their counterparts in Russia and Ukraine.

Even though the author claims to utilize a Marxist theoretical framework, this is a version of Marxism that singles out leadership and ideas as the principal determinants of socio-political change. Much of the book consists, then, of stories about the extraordinary individuals, particularly in Ukraine, whose sense of dignity and grassroots organizing abilities made at least a small difference to the well-being of workers. Nothing illustrates better than these, and the other less positive, stories the "collective action" problem so vociferously promoted by the neo-liberal rational choice/rational actor school in mainstream political science. How ironic that a latter-day Marxist analysis should prove a neo-liberal theory right. Basically, the author is one of those people who want to start the twentieth century all over again; he is still waiting for the great proletarian revolution to begin: in 1917, he notes nostalgically in closing, the workers had a sense of dignity.

The book comes with a thoroughly inadequate index as well as a bibliography of items described as "more-or-less academic" (p. 275), much like the book itself. It should have been proofread before publication. The abundance of typos betrays the haste and carelessness of the publisher or author or both.

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Mykhailo Hrushevsky. *History of Ukraine-Rus'*. Vol. 8. *The Cossack Age, 1626–1650*. Translated by Marta Daria Olynyk. Edited by Frank E. Sysyn with the assistance of Myroslav Yurkevich. Edmonton and Toronto: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 2002. lxxv, 808 pp.

There were, are, and undoubtedly will be among us mere mortals, who struggle to cope with day-to-day problems, persons of genius, noted for their outstanding contributions. One such genius was Mykhailo Hrushevsky (1866–1934), a renowned Ukrainian historian, statesman, publicist, writer, and social activist. It can be said, without fear of contradiction, that his greatest contribution to his countrymen was the ten-volume *History of Ukraine-Rus'*, which shows that Ukrainians are a separate nation and possess their own history. His *History*, in Frank E. Sysyn's view, "is the major statement of a historian of

genius," which "in breadth and erudition ... still has no equal in Ukrainian historiography, and its examination of many historical questions remains unsurpassed" (Introduction, vol. 1, p. xli).

Each volume of Hrushevsky's *History of Ukraine-Rus'* must be analyzed in two parts: the historical work of the author himself and the labours of scholars comprising the Hrushevsky Translation Project. With regard to the first part, Hrushevsky's work is characterized by objectiveness and painstaking care for detail. He is not afraid to point out problems relating to the principal hero of this volume: "[Bohdan] Khmelnytsky's personal biography is as short on concrete verifiable facts," he writes, "as it is immeasurably long on the legends that enveloped him hard on the heels of his first appearance in the broad arena, making him the beloved hero of all kinds of tales and fictions, and later of works of poetry and belles-lettres as well" (p. 376). He also refers not too kindly to Adam Kysil: "In the meantime, our homegrown Machiavelli had written Khmelnytsky a special little tract, in which, from the treasure house of his great wisdom, he suggested various cunning methods for carrying out the king's salutary advice" (p. 547). His readers will find long citations from official documents, private correspondence and even epic songs. Perhaps one of the reasons why Hrushevsky's *History* reaches only the year 1676 was his over-fondness for primary sources in the text, footnotes, and appendices: they finally overwhelmed him and made it impossible to complete his magnum opus.

With regard to the second part, members of the Hrushevsky Translation Project are responsible for the appearance of this masterful work in the English language. It should be noted that the entire project started as Frank E. Sysyn's dream. He had to convince many people that it was viable and needed, as some individuals were not too happy with Hrushevsky's "populist" interpretations; others were more interested in spending the funds on new research by young scholars. Moreover, he had to find the resources for translation and publication and to assemble a team of international scholars, specialists in the area covered by each volume. Thanks to his dedication, drive, and optimism, the Hrushevsky Translation Project was launched and has already shown great success. The first volume of the *History* was published in 1997, the seventh, in 1999, and the eighth, in 2002.

The pattern, adopted by the Hrushevsky Translation Project, can only be described as ideal. In volume 1 readers can find a general introduction relating to the entire ten-volume *History of Ukraine-Rus'*. Each volume has a general editorial preface, containing information about geographic and personal names, transliteration, quoted excerpts, editorial emendations, annotations, bibliography and index. Each volume also has an introduction by a consulting editor. In the case of this volume, Frank E. Sysyn provides a detailed, perceptive and invaluable analysis of the "Crucial Epoch," comprising the Cossack period from 1626 to 1650, from the Krukove Campaign to the Treaty of Zboriv (pp. xxxi-lxix). The book also contains other very valuable additions: maps, a glossary of terms, translations consulted, and tables of hetmans and rulers. It should be noted that Hrushevsky's bibliography was expanded and up-to-date titles have been added in bold print with a different font than the original text. For those who are interested in the problems of translation, it can be said that, on the whole, Marta Daria Olynyk managed to do very well, considering the minefields and pitfalls of the text she had to overcome.

There are several matters needing editorial attention in the glossary. The heading *het'man* (*hetman*) will only confuse readers (p. lxxi); it should be rewritten to make clear

that grand and field hetmans existed for both the Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania; that is, four military offices. Moreover the spelling of the following offices should be corrected in the forthcoming volumes, as the proper Polish forms are *podkanclerzy*, *podwojewodzi* and *podstarości* (p. lxxiii). Are *kanclerz* (p. lxxi) and *pieczętarz* (p. lxxiii) two different offices? While generally the diacritics are fine, there are problems—eyesores—with the letters ą and ę. The main surprise for me was the reappearance of “Jakub Śmiarowski” (p. 506) instead of Bartłomiej Śmiarowski, and “Stanisław Lubowidzki” (p. 355) instead of Jan Franciszek Lubowicki. They were wished *requiescant in pace* twenty-three years ago in *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* (vol. 5, no. 1 (1981): 114 n. 2 and 115–16 n. 7); yet, they have managed to reappear once again. Finally, although there is a note relating to the formal personal names (p. xxxix), the editors do not explain why some have a Polish form, while others, a Ukrainian form.

The period under review continues to interest both Polish and Ukrainian historians, as is evident from the various titles that have been published in recent years. The following primary sources deserve to be noted: “Korespondencja Prymasa i Senatu z czerwca-listopada 1648 roku. Bezkrólewie. Chmielnicki. Elekcja,” *Archiwa, Biblioteki i Muzea Kościelne*, 55 (1987): 203–301; *Ruska (Volynska) metryka: Knyha za 1652–1673 rr.* (Ostroh, 1999); *Ruska (Volynska) metryka: Reiestry dokumentiv Koronnoi kantselarii dlia ukrainskykh zemel (Volynske, Kyivke, Bratslavske, Chernihivske voievodstva 1569–1673* (Kyiv, 2002); and *Pamiętniki Filipa, Michała i Teodora Obuchowiczów (1630–1707)* (Warsaw, 2003). The more important biographies, monographs, and compilations are: Witold Biernacki, *Żółte Wody-Korsuń 1648* (Częstochowa, 2000; Warsaw, 2004); Henryk Litwin, *Napływ szlachty polskiej na Ukrainę 1569–1648* (Warsaw, 2000); Serhii Plokyh, *The Cossacks and Religion in Early Modern Ukraine* (Oxford, 2001); Maciej Franz, *Wojskowość Kozaczyzny Zaporoskiej w XVI–XVII wieku* (Toruń, 2002); Antoni Mironowicz, *Kościół prawosławny w dziejach dawnej Rzeczypospolitej* (Białystok, 2001); Eugeniusz Janas and Witold Kłaczewski, *Urzędnicy województw kijowskiego i czernihowskiego XV–XVIII wieku: Spisy* (Kórnik, 2002); Valerii Smolii and Valerii Stepankov, *Bohdan Khmelnytsky* (Kyiv, 2003); Tadeusz Górski, *Flotylla kozackie w służbie Jagiellonów i Wazów* (Gdańsk, 2003); Tomasz Ciesielski, *Sejm brzeski 1653 r.: Studium z dziejów Rzeczypospolitej w latach 1652–1653* (Toruń, 2003); and *Pereiaslavska rada 1654 roku: Istoriohrafiia ta doslidzhennia* (Kyiv, 2003). The Lviv Branch of the Mykhailo Hrushevsky Institute of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine has published works of historical cartography: *Boplan i Ukraina* (Lviv, 1998), *Kartohrafiia ta istoriia Ukrainy* (Lviv, 2000), *Istorychne kartoznavstvo Ukrainy* (Lviv, 2004), and *Spetsialna karta Ukrainy Giioma Levassera de Boplana 1650 roku* (Kyiv and Lviv, 2000), which includes the facsimile reproduction of the large eight-sheet Beauplan map of Ukraine.

Reviewing what has been accomplished, one hopes that members of the Hrushevsky Translation Project will continue their much-needed scholarly work. Readers of Mykhailo Hrushevsky's *History of Ukraine-Rus'* are eagerly awaiting the publication of the next volume.

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John R. Staples. *Cross-Cultural Encounters on the Ukrainian Steppe: Settling the Molochna Basin, 1783–1861*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003. xiv, 253 pp.

This thoughtful and meticulously researched book addresses an important, but neglected, area of Ukrainian and Russian historiography, the settlement of “New Russia” in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. It focusses on the Molochna River basin, Tavriia Gubernia, an area in southern Ukraine absorbed into the Russian Empire in the 1780s and settled in subsequent decades by German and Mennonite colonists, Ukrainian and Russian peasants from overpopulated parts of the empire, religious dissenters belonging to the Dukhobor and Molokan sects, and the previously nomadic Nogai, a Muslim Tatar group. Through comparative study, John Staples seeks to explain how it was that, given similar environmental, economic, and administrative conditions, these various religious-ethnic groups pursued divergent development strategies, leading to quite different outcomes.

The simple answer is that St. Petersburg had relatively little control over what went on in the periphery. As Staples shows, the imperial state relied on local administrators from the settler communities themselves, by default essentially allowing those communities to accept or reject the centre’s demands as they saw fit. A more complete explanation would point to the fact that these various groups began to settle the region on the basis of somewhat different “deals” with the state. The state distributed land and established administrative organs in accordance with its perception of each community’s ability to feed itself, its potential to contribute to the state’s welfare, and whether or not it presented a security threat to the state. But the real reason for the different economic conditions of the various groups by the mid nineteenth century, according to Staples, is more complicated: each group brought to the Molochna region its own ethnocultural conceptions of the environment and of justice and equity, which shaped how they adapted to similar conditions and problems. Drawing in part on the insights of environmental historians, Staples thus explores the reciprocal relationship between environment and society.

The key contrast, for Staples, is between the experience of the Orthodox (Russian and Ukrainian) peasants and that of the Mennonites. In the face of a harsh environment and isolation from the state and markets, both groups initially focussed their efforts on animal husbandry, with a secondary interest in gardening, and paid relatively little attention to grain production. Although the Mennonites initially enjoyed more land per capita, theirs was a one-time allotment and demographic growth soon eliminated any advantage over the Orthodox, who in those early decades could count on increased land grants as their communities grew. By the 1830s, Mennonite and Orthodox communities faced the common challenge of dealing with demographic growth and land shortages. How each community faced this crisis would shape its future socio-economic development. The key lay in community land and administrative practices. In the early period, when land was plentiful, the Mennonites established a system to administer their settlement’s land surplus. This meant that they were accustomed to managing resources in common and established a civil administration to oversee the welfare of the community as a whole, protecting both the needs of the poor and the property rights of the wealthy,

who invested in economic innovation and rural industry, which benefited the entire community. The Orthodox peasants, by contrast, arrived in the Molochna Valley with a tradition of communal land tenure and administration, but in the early years, these self-administrative structures fell into disuse, since there was neither too little nor too much land available. When land shortages arose, and with them disputes between villages over property, the community lacked internal mechanisms to resolve these quarrels and the peasants appealed to the state, their traditional source of land allotments. The state resolved the problem by re-introducing regular repartition of land—an economic system that caused a parting of ways in what had been the largely parallel development of the Mennonite and Orthodox communities up to that time. Ironically, repartition seems to have discouraged the kind of internal community development and economic diversification that the Mennonite community, with its large landless component, pursued.

This is a complex study, tracing the story of several different groups across an eighty-year period. Its great strength is the attempt to encompass the entire economic, ethnic, and administrative system of the Molochna region, reminding us that it was once a contact point between diverse cultures. It also takes us into the very diverse and little-studied world of the state peasant. This breadth of purpose, perhaps inevitably, creates organizational challenges for the writer. The opening chapters, which tell the story of initial settlement and outline the history and practices of the various groups, are full of foreshadowing hints that can be confusing to the reader. Moreover, Staples frequently refers to the controversial and influential Mennonite figure, Johann Cornies, in the early part of the book, although Cornies is not properly introduced until chapter 5.

Staples's account of the Dukhobors' exile from the region in the early 1840s reveals the advantages and perils of a local study. Working primarily from local sources, the author effectively demonstrates the power of local elites to shape St. Petersburg's views of a situation and the way in which a central state decision to reduce land allotments caused local tensions and made the Dukhobors useful scapegoats. He is able to evaluate and reject the accuracy of charges of heinous crimes and internal discord made against the Dukhobors and then used as a pretext for their banishment. At the same time, he misses the overall context of the exile of sectarians from all over the empire to the Caucasus in the 1830s to the 1860s. As Nicholas Breyfogle has demonstrated, the policy of exile emerged from a long-term process of rethinking policies on the resettlement and isolation of the Dukhobors begun already during the reign of Alexander I.

Staples draws on a rich variety of archival evidence in Russian and both Low and High German. His richest sources emerged from the Mennonite milieu and we learn most about that community and especially the individuals involved. His work is deeply in dialogue with Mennonite historiography, challenging many received truths that no longer stand up when the Mennonites are not studied in isolation from the other settlers in the region. Most importantly, he suggests that the history of the transformation of southern Ukrainian Mennonite society in the nineteenth century is best understood through the lens not of secularization, but of de-peasantization.

This is an exemplary work of regional social and economic history, which will profitably be read by specialists interested in nineteenth-century southern Ukraine, the Russian imperial experience, administrative and peasant history, and the history of the Mennonites. While it is not bedtime reading, it is written in a clear manner and illustrated with numerous helpful maps and charts. One of my undergraduate students has already

reported finding it helpful for one of her research papers. It should, therefore, find its place on the shelves of university and community libraries.

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Glenn R. Mack and Joseph Coleman Carter, eds. *Crimean Chersonesos: City, Chora, Museum, and Environs*. Austin, TX: Institute of Classical Archaeology, The University of Texas at Austin, 2003. 232 pp.

The Crimean Peninsula, one of Ukraine's premier tourist attractions, contains some of the most beautiful and important historical sites in the region. Unfortunately, few people outside of the former Soviet Union previously knew of these places. During the last decades of the USSR, while Russian cultural monuments received significant and at times lavish treatment, those beyond the centre languished in obscurity. Academic architectural and archaeological reports about such non-Russian heritage sites appeared in small numbers on poor quality paper. Illustrations were limited to black-and-white line drawings and poorly reproduced photographs. For the general population outside academia, the treasures of Ukraine remained unknown.

Since the collapse of the USSR, Ukraine has come a long way in reestablishing her political independence. In spite of Ukraine's economic problems, historical sites in Ukraine are slowly receiving the world-wide attention they deserve. The recently published lavishly illustrated volume about Crimean Chersonesos highlights one of Ukraine's many poorly known historical monuments. Authored by a number of scholars, this more than 200-page study catalogues much of the last two centuries' worth of archaeological work in and around the ancient city of Chersonesos. Illustrated with maps, three-dimensional reconstructions, and colour artifact photographs, it brings out the importance of Chersonesos. The quality of the production alone puts the book on par with colour catalogues produced by the finest art museums.

The work is divided into three major sections. Following a short geographical introduction, chapters two to seven tackle different historical periods. Chapter 5, entitled "Decline to Rediscovery," for example, looks at the area from the time of the Mongols to its annexation by Catherine in 1783. Although some scholars may take issue with the idea of a decline in Crimea during the Tatar administration, these chapters are important because they place the events in Chersonesos in the context of what occurred in the surrounding regions and how it effected Crimea.

The subsequent section, chapters eight and nine, provide a catalogue of the most important structures within the city and the surrounding countryside. Individual churches, fortifications, tombs, gates, towers, theatre, mint, water systems, and private residences receive one- or two-page descriptions. While scholars may benefit from a more detailed analysis, references for each building are included at the end of each description. Perhaps the most inspiring part of the work is its third section, which deals with the artifacts themselves. The short description that accompanies each professionally photographed object is even more informative, since it also provides a date for the item's use, its size, and the date of its discovery. Though large collections of Greek, Roman, and Byzantine art exist in a number of museums, the artifacts illustrated in this work all come from one

particular location. Given the long-standing practice of sending the most impressive artifacts to St. Petersburg and Moscow, as well as the looting of the earliest collections by the British and French during the Crimean War, the reader is overwhelmed by the number and cosmopolitan nature of these artifacts. Whereas other archaeological sites and museums in Ukraine may have equally impressive collections, the items discussed in chapters ten through twelve illustrate an urban society that was fully integrated into the Mediterranean world.

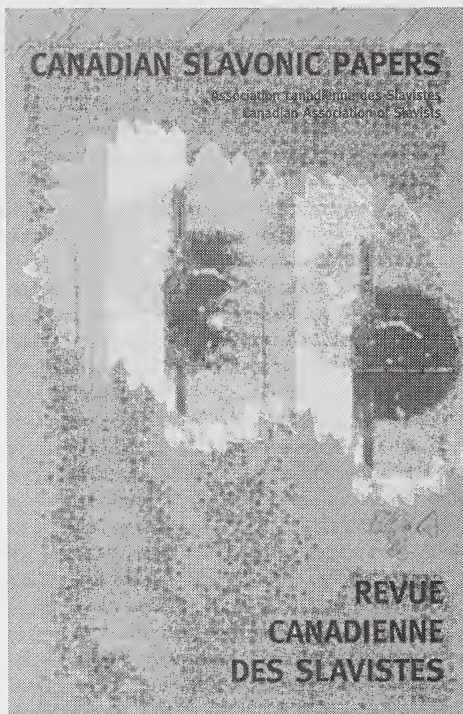
The final three chapters of the book discuss the future plans for the Chersonesos National Preserve, a short history of the neighbouring modern city of Sevastopol, and the historic sites of southwestern Crimea. While it may have been better to place the history of Sevastopol at the end of the first section, the final chapter about historic sites in southwestern Crimea lacks the historical and global context that characterizes so much of the work. Rather than ending with a short summary of only southwestern Crimea, the authors should have included a section about the castle at Sudak or Bakhchesarai. These historical sites deserve a treatment like that of Chersonesos.

For all its merits, the work is not without some faults. The choice of works in the bibliography is somewhat confusing. Major studies, as well as seminal general works, are not included, while other less utilized works are. Although there may be reasons why Orest Subtelny's *Ukraine: A History* or Mykhailo Hrushevsky's one-volume *History of Ukraine-Rus'* are omitted in the sections dealing with the general history of Ukraine, there is no excuse for the absence of Hrushevsky's Ukrainian-language ten-volume *History of Ukraine-Rus'*. In a similar vein, why was Mykhailo Miller's *Arkheologiia v SSSR* included, but not Iaroslav Pasternak's *Arkheolohiia Ukrainy*. The exclusion of Ukrainian nationalist and émigré authors may be a political statement on the part of a Russophile Stalinist holdover, but that still does not explain why Trevor Royle's recent work *Crimea* was not listed. It is unfortunate that this study only briefly mentions the Crimean War defenses that are located within the borders of the Chersonesos National Preserve. In Great Britain there is a great interest in the Crimean War and a book strongly targeting the historical tourism market should have devoted more attention to the topic. The archaeological remains from the Battle of Balaklava are mentioned only in passing and the still-standing fortifications around Sevastopol, which gave so much trouble to the Allies during the war are ignored completely. Given that the Western Powers, including the United States, copied Russian-engineered defenses, and built their new works in the Russian style, a fuller discussion of the existing Crimean fortifications should have been included.

I strongly recommend this work to readers who have even a passing interest in Crimea. The quality of the photographs and the maps make this catalogue of the National Preserve an important contribution to scholars of Ukraine and the Mediterranean and Black Sea civilizations. Most importantly, the work serves to introduce the English-language audience to the cultural heritage of a section of the world that has been buried for far too long under the heel of ruling imperial powers.

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**Special Issue:
THE UKRAINIAN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS OF
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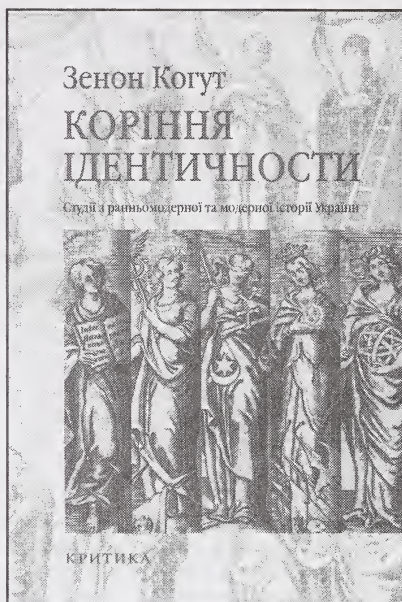
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Articles should not be longer than 10,000 words, including the notes. Footnotes should be used instead of endnotes. They should include the names of authors and editors as they appear in the work cited (do not substitute initials for first names), the full title and subtitle of the work, and the name of the publisher in addition to the place and year of publication. A tab should separate the text of the note from the footnote number preceding it. For further information regarding footnotes, please consult the 15th edition of *The Chicago Manual of Style*.

Ukrainian and Russian book and article titles, personal names, and quotations in those languages should be transliterated according to the modified Library of Congress system below—i.e., without diacritics; without indicating the soft or hard sign by using a single or double prime—except in the word “Rus”; and with Ukrainian and Russian surnames ending in -sky instead of -s'kyi or -skii. The Ukrainian alphabet is transliterated as

а—a	і—i	т—t
б—b	ї—i	у—u
в—v	й—i	ф—f
г—h	к—k	х—kh
ґ—g	л—l	ц—ts
д—d	м—m	ч—ch
е—e	н—n	ш—sh
є—ie	о—o	щ—shch
ж—zh	п—p	ю—iu
з—z	р—r	я—ia
и—y	с—s	ь—omit
		ий—y in endings of personal names only.

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Korinnia identychnosti: Studii z rann'omodernoï ta modernoï istorii Ukrainy

By Zenon Kohut

This collection of fifteen articles, originally written in English between 1977 and 2002, is the fourth book in the series of Ukrainian-language historical studies issued by the Peter Jacyk Centre for Ukrainian Historical Research at CIUS.

Korinnia identychnosti can be purchased from CIUS Press for \$39.95 (cloth) and \$29.95 (paperback). Outside Canada, prices are in US dollars. Orders can be placed online by credit card; by e-mail (cius@ualberta.ca); by phone (780-492-2973) or fax (780-492-4967); or by mail (CIUS Press, 450 Athabasca Hall, University of Alberta, Edmonton, AB, Canada T6G 2E8).

